THE JESUITS:

Their Foundation and History.

By B. N.

'You shall be hated by all nations for My Name's sake.'
St. Matthew xxiv. 9.

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY FATHER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE original idea of the writer of the present history was to translate Crétineau-Joly's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus* into English, no history of the Society existing in that language. On further consideration, however, it was resolved to take Crétineau-Joly's work only as a foundation from which materials might be drawn, and with the assistance of other modern works on the subject to condense the history of the Order into a popular form.

The object in view has been to write a POPULAR history—one that, without any pretensions to completeness or to deep learning or research, should present, as far as possible, a statement of leading events, narrated with sufficient brevity and simplicity to attract those who might hesitate before attempting the study of more important and learned volumes.

Besides Crétineau-Joly's history in six volumes (3d edition, 1859), of which, as has been stated, ample use has been made throughout, other books by modern writers have been referred to. Thus for the foundation and general history of the Society, the Lives of St. Ignatius by Fathers Bartoli, Bouhours, and Ribadeneira; the works of P. Prat upon Father Ribadeneira and

Father Coton; the *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus, Assistance de Portugal*, by P. de Guilhermy; the *Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires*, par des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus, &c., have frequently been used by the writer. The materials for the chapters relating to the English Province have been gathered almost entirely from Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, Simpson's *Life of Father Campion*, and the late valuable publications of the English Jesuits: *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, by Father Morris; and the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, by H. Foley, S.J. For the Missions, use has been made of Marshall's *Christian Missions;* of the voluminous *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (edition 1781), written by the Jesuit missionaries themselves; of the Lives of Father Ricci, Father de Nobrega, and Venerable Joseph Anchieta, by Ste. Foy; and also of the works published within the last few years by the French Jesuits upon the modern missions of China and Madura. Lastly, as regards the suppression, it will be seen that P. de Ravignan and Father Weld are, with Crétineau-Joly, the authors most constantly referred to.

B. N.

Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1879.

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CHAPTER I.

Don Ignacio de Loyola.

Inigo or Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491, at his paternal home of Loyola, situated among the hills of Guipuzcoa, near the little town of Aspeitia, in Spanish Biscay. His father, Don Beltran de Oñaz y Loyola, was the head of an ancient and illustrious race; and his mother, Doña Maria Saenz de Licona y Balda, of equally noble birth, was a native of the neighbouring town of Ascoytia. They had thirteen children—five daughters and eight sons—of whom Ignatius was the youngest. The feudal castle of Loyola, his birthplace, was built in the fourteenth century by an ancestor of the family, and stood in a spot still remarkable for its picturesque beauty, in the midst of a fertile valley watered by the Urola, and beyond which extend richly-wooded hills, encircling the quaint little towns of Aspeitia and Ascoytia. Ignatius was baptized in the parish church of Aspeitia, where the font used for the purpose is still preserved with much veneration. It is surmounted by a statue of the saint, who is represented pointing to the font beneath; and it bears the following inscription in Basque: 'Here I was baptized.'

Historians tell us little of St. Ignatius's early years. We learn that, when still very young, he showed a singular devotion to the Blessed Virgin and to St. Peter, and that he used to make frequent pilgrimages to the chapel of our Lady of Olaz in the valley of Loyola, and also to another sanctuary situated at the foot of one of the neighbouring hills, and dedicated to St. Peter. The latter has since been turned into a farmhouse; but Olaz still remains in its primitive simplicity, a precious memorial of the saint's boyish days.

When yet of an early age, Ignatius, in accordance with the custom of the period, was sent by his parents as page to the

court of the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella; and later on, faithful to the traditions of his family, he embraced the profession of arms, in which his brothers had already distinguished themselves—a career peculiarly fitted to his energetic and ambitious disposition.

Many are the descriptions which have been handed down to us of the personal appearance and character of St. Ignatius at this period of his life, and strangely do they contrast with the ascetic and self-controlled saint of later years. He was, say his biographers, handsome and well made, with a graceful figure and the traditional dark eyes and bronzed features of Spain, bearing an expression of haughtiness and energy. His chief characteristic was a passionate love of glory and renown, and a truly Spanish sensitiveness on the 'point of honour.' His life in the midst of courts and camps was one of worldliness and vanity, redeemed, however, by many noble qualities, wherein lay the germ of the heroic virtues which the future was to bring forth. Thus his intelligence, courage, and exact performance of all his military duties made him a model for his fellow-soldiers, while, even in a career fraught with so many perils and temptations, he showed constant respect for sacred things and persons. His faults were curiously balanced by qualities of an opposite nature; though proud and sensitive in the extreme, he easily forgave injuries, and possessed a special gift for reconciling enemies; and, though full of ambition, he was singularly disinterested. For instance, when the rebellious town of Naxera was taken by the royal troops and given up to pillage, he steadily refused to accept any share in the plunder. Neither does he seem, in the turmoil of his military life, to have forgotten St. Peter, the favourite saint of his childhood, in whose honour he composed a short poem, in which he characteristically praises the Apostle for having drawn his sword in defence of his Master.

Nevertheless, says Father Bouhours, his mind was full of pride and worldliness, solely intent on the things of this earth. But a sudden change was at hand, which was to turn into another and very different channel the energies of the ambitious soldier.

In 1521, during the absence of Charles V., who had gone to Germany to receive the imperial crown, the people of Castile, irritated at the exactions of their governor, rebelled against the viceroy, Don Frederico Henriquez, who, in order to resist the insurgents, called to his assistance the viceroy of Navarre. The latter hastened to join him at the head of all the troops he could dispose of; and the comparatively defenceless state of the kingdom of Navarre was turned to advantage by Francis I. of France, who had long desired to regain it for his brother-in-law Henri d'Albret, from whom it had been taken by King Ferdinand. A powerful French army, commanded by André de Foix, Seigneur de Lesparre, crossed the Pyrenees and marched towards Pampeluna. Don Antonio Manrico, viceroy of Navarre, a relative of the family of Loyola, was unable to leave Castile; but, on hearing of the approach of the French, he despatched his kinsman Ignatius to encourage the garrison of the menaced city, which was commanded by an old captain whose name is not recorded.

We may imagine the indignation of the high-spirited young soldier when he found that not only the inhabitants, but even the garrison of Pampeluna, terrified at the approach of the enemy, were ready to open the gates of the town. Finding it impossible to inspire them with courage, he retired to the citadel with only one soldier, who consented to share his fate; but here a fresh disappointment awaited him. The governor, having but a few men at his command, and scanty provisions, had resolved to capitulate, and had even arranged a conference with the French for the purpose. He was prevented, however, from carrying his intention into effect; for Ignatius, filled with anger and indignation, broke off the negotiations, and by his fierce and bitter words so exasperated the besiegers, that they opened the attack with the full force of their artillery. Ignatius was on the battlements, sword in hand, striving by his voice and example to encourage his countrymen to resistance, when, on the 20th of May 1521, his left leg was struck by a heavy stone dislodged from the walls, and almost at the same moment a cannon-ball shattered his right leg.

He fell grievously wounded, and was carried off a prisoner to the French camp; while his followers, whose last hope disappeared with him, speedily surrendered.

The French proved generous enemies. Whatever may have been their previous feelings towards their impetuous adversary, admiration for his daring and compassion for his sufferings were now supreme. They treated him with courtesy and kindness, and ere long had him carried to his own home among the hills of Guipuzcoa.

Here he lay for many months in intense weariness and pain. His right leg had been awkwardly set by the French surgeon at Pampeluna, and it had to be broken to be reset, at the cost of great suffering. A violent fever ensued; and soon it appeared as though that life, so full of strength and promise, was doomed to be cut off in its prime. All hope was lost, when one night St. Peter appeared in a dream to the dying soldier, and the next day he was out of danger. But though the fever had left him, Ignatius was still unable to use his leg, and soon he perceived with dismay that, owing probably to some awkwardness on the part of the surgeon, one of the bones greatly protruded below the knee. To the vain young nobleman, who prided himself on his graceful figure and on his skill in all knightly accomplishments, such a deformity was insupportable; and, braving the remonstrances of those around, he insisted on having the protruding bone cut off. Through the fearful ordeal he lay calm and unmoved, and, but for a convulsive clenching of his hands, gave no sign of pain. After this severe operation, however, it was discovered that the wounded leg was considerably shorter than the other, from a contraction of the muscles of the hip; and, in order to remedy this defect, Ignatius had it violently stretched by iron instruments, which in a great measure removed the evil, but still left a slight lameness, which in after years served to identify the gentle saint of Rome with the vain and daring hero of Pampeluna.

It may be imagined how painful to a restless and warlike spirit were the long weeks of compulsory repose that followed these tortures. Ignatius had always been fond of the tales of

chivalry and romance, which were at that period the favourite reading of the nobility, and now he asked for some books of this kind to cheer his long captivity.

It so happened that no romances could be found in the manor of Loyola, and in place of these he was given the *Flos Sanctorum*, or Lives of the Saints, and a Life of Jesus Christ, by Ludolph the Carthusian. At first, from sheer *ennui*, he perused them carelessly enough; but gradually his attention became riveted, and his admiration excited, by the deeds of which he read, and a secret impulse whispered to him to go and do likewise.

The work of grace had begun, and a new world of light opened to the eyes of the ambitious soldier. A divine voice, calling him to a life of sacrifice and abnegation—to a life devoted to a close imitation of Jesus crucified—sounded in his ears; and ere long a fearful tumult arose in his soul. To the divine call to perfection were opposed the fears, the repugnance, the terrors, by which Satan strove to wrest from God a soul framed for so glorious a destiny. It came as a new experience to the warrior trained to earthly warfare, but totally unskilled in the inner and spiritual struggle that now rent his heart—an experience which St. Ignatius remembered in after times, when he wrote the *Spiritual Exercises*, and which served him then to guide and strengthen myriads of souls passing through a similar ordeal. The trial was bitter, and the struggle a sharp one between the powers of evil and the grace of God; but at length earthly hopes of glory, human love, and worldly projects were laid at the foot of the Cross. One night, rising from his bed, Ignatius knelt down before a statue of our Lady with the Infant in her arms, and offered himself body and soul to her, promising that henceforth he would follow the standard of Jesus Christ, his only true Sovereign. Wonderful peace and light then filled his soul, and miraculous apparitions came to reward the loyal heart that had so generously responded to God's mysterious call.

To a nature like that of Ignatius Loyola there could be no middle course, and with the grace vouchsafed to him came the

resolution of bidding an eternal farewell to all he had hitherto loved and prized; no life of ordinary holiness could satisfy his aspirations. He resolved, as soon as the state of his wounds would permit, to leave his home. His one desire was to imitate the saints, whose wondrous lives of prayer and penance he continued to study with earnest devotion; and, as the weakness of his injured limb obliged him still further to delay his departure, he employed his time in copying the most striking passages of the books he read. We are told that he used to write out the actions of Jesus Christ in letters of gold, those of our Lady in blue, and those of the saints in various colours, according to his devotion.

As soon as his strength had sufficiently returned he prepared to leave Loyola, not without much opposition on the part of his elder brother, Don Martin Garcia, the head of the house, who, though he was not aware of the full extent of the change in his brother's soul, felt that he meant to relinquish the honours within his grasp, and to abandon the dearly-won laurels gathered on the walls of Pampeluna.

F. Ribadeneira, in his *Life of St. Ignatius*, puts a long discourse in the mouth of Don Martin. Though it is hardly probable that the warlike Biscayan noble used the studied and eloquent language here attributed to him, still we may be sure that he did his best to show his brother the folly of giving up the splendid position to which his great natural gifts, his noble birth, and valuable services entitled him to aspire. Ignatius, however, remained silent on the subject of his future plans, and, having merely assured Don Martin that he would do nothing to bring dishonour on their name, he started on horseback, accompanied by two servants, from whom he soon parted, and wended his way alone towards the famous sanctuary of our Lady of Montserrat in Catalonia.

As he was riding along the high-roads of the kingdom of Valencia he fell in with a Moor, who was travelling in the same direction. The conversation turned upon religion, and, to the horror of Ignatius, the infidel began vehemently to deny the virginity of the Mother of God. There was a short sharp

struggle between the soldier's warlike instincts and the celestial aspirations of the recent convert; and for a moment, say his historians, Ignatius doubted whether it was not his duty to kill the Moor in punishment of his blasphemies. Unable to come to a decision he determined to wait till he reached a spot where two roads met. Letting his bridle fall on his horse's neck, he resolved that if the animal, left to itself, took the road chosen by the Moor, he would instantly pursue and slay him. Happily for both travellers, the horse selected the other path, though it was the narrower and more rugged, and Ignatius, taking this as a sign from heaven, continued his journey in peace.

In order to place himself more especially under the protection of Mary, whose honour was so dear to him, Ignatius made a solemn vow of chastity before reaching Montserrat, and, on arriving at the famous sanctuary, his first care was to make to a holy Benedictine monk, Don Juan Chanones, a general confession of his whole life. As we have seen, the recollections and habits of his former profession were curiously mingled with his new thoughts and projects. Remembering that it was the custom in the days of chivalry for the aspirant knights to watch their armour for a whole night before girding on the sword of knighthood, the soldier of Christ at the outset of his new career, spent the eve of the Annunciation in the church of Montserrat. Very different was this vigil from those of his ancestors in bygone times: clad in the rags of a beggar, for which he had exchanged his own rich clothing, the descendant of the warlike Loyolas knelt before Mary's altar during the long hours of the night, while the sword that had already achieved such glorious deeds was hung up there as an offering. The next morning, after receiving Holy Communion, he started for the neighbouring town of Manresa, where he was recommended to the hospital of Santa Lucia by Ines Pascual, a devout woman from Barcelona, whom he had accidentally met, and whose name appears again at a later part of his history.*

* In memory of the hours spent by St. Ignatius in the sanctuary of Montserrat, an abbot of the adjoining monastery had a marble tablet placed in the church, bearing the following inscription: 'Ignatius à Loyola, multa prece fletuque Deo se Virginique devovit. Hic, tanquam armis

During the first weeks of his sojourn at Manresa Ignatius lodged at the hospital, but even the mode of life of its poor inhabitants seemed to him too luxurious. He fasted the whole week on bread and water; under his ragged garments he wore a hair shirt and an iron chain; he slept on the bare ground, and took the discipline three times a day. To these corporal penances were added spiritual mortifications, which must have been far more painful to the proud and vain-glorious soldier. All the most menial and repulsive offices were claimed by him as a right, and he ate nothing but what he collected from door to door. Insults and even blows often greeted the ragged beggar, who, says one of his historians, looked almost like a savage, for he had let his hair and beard grow as much to prevent recognition as to add another drop to the chalice of humiliations for which he thirsted. The sensitiveness of the high-born Spaniard, the refinement of the courtier, were conquered by a longing desire to emulate the holy penitents of old, and to expiate the sins and follies of the past. At a little distance from Manresa was situated a solitary cavern in the mountain-side, and there Ignatius spent hours and days hidden from the sight of men, giving himself up to austerities and penances that surpassed the fearful macerations of the anchorites of old.

Temptations were not wanting to try the courage of his brave heart at the outset of its heavenly pilgrimage; he who was destined to train so many souls to perfection had himself to pass through the crucible of intense spiritual trials. After tempting him alternately with discouragement and vain-glory, Satan was permitted to torture him with scruples; and these grew so strong that, bathed in tears, worn out with suffering and fasting, he at last threw himself at the feet of his confessor at Montserrat, and owned that an almost irresistible longing impelled him to put an end to his life.

However, in proportion as his body was crucified by pen-

spiritualibus, sacco se muniens, pernoctavit. Hinc ad Societatem Jesu fundandam prodiit, anno 1522. F. Laurentius Aicto, abbas dicavit, anno 1603, (Bartoli).

ance and his soul chastened by suffering, wonderful gifts of light and grace were poured upon him, and, during those momentous weeks of struggle and of prayer, the untaught soldier became one of the first among all the great masters of spiritual knowledge.

It was at Manresa, by the light of the supernatural gifts that rewarded his generous devotion, that Ignatius wrote the *Spiritual Exercises*, a book of which St. Francis of Sales said that it had converted as many sinners as it contained letters. Here, too, he seems to have received a revelation of the mission to which God destined him, for, in after years, when writing the Constitutions of his Order, he would reply to those who questioned him as to certain important points in the Institute: 'I learnt them at Manresa.' Here also another change came over him: when first he embraced his penitential life he only thought of expiating his own past errors; but gradually, as his love for God grew more ardent, his aspirations embraced a wider sphere, and the burning zeal of an apostle was kindled within him. He began to preach, and, standing on a stone outside the hospital of Santa Lucia, he would speak of Jesus Christ and of the great truths of religion with an earnestness and modesty that deeply impressed those who gathered around him. By degrees the contempt and pity with which he was regarded changed into veneration and love; but just as the fame of his sanctity was beginning to spread, Ignatius left Manresa, after a stay of two months, and went on to Barcelona, whence he intended to proceed to the Holy Land.

At Loyola, in the first hours of his conversion, he had resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, through the same feeling of chivalrous devotion that had drawn the knights of old towards that hallowed spot; now, in his new-born missionary zeal, he returned to this project, and resolved to devote his life to the conversion of the infidels and schismatics of Syria. He spent twenty days at Barcelona, on his road, under the roof of the charitable Ines Pascual, from whom he would only accept shelter for the night, for he continued, as at Manresa, to live solely on the alms he begged from door to door. This

practice exposed him to many humiliations; scoffs and insults would greet him in the streets, and even the children would at times revile him as he passed. Now and then, indeed, a supernatural sign revealed to some chosen soul the glorious sanctity of the miserable-looking wanderer: thus a pious Barcelonese, Isabel Rossell, was once listening to a sermon in one of the churches, when she perceived seated among the little children a man around whose head there shone a miraculous light. At the same time an inner voice said to her, '*Llamale, llamale*,—Speak to him, speak to him.' Both she and her husband, convinced that the unknown mendicant must be a great saint, went to look for him, and, yielding to their prayers, Ignatius accompanied them home and shared their repast. He afterwards conversed with them on spiritual subjects with a clearness and eloquence that astonished his hearers and confirmed their belief in his holiness.

On leaving Barcelona, Ignatius, after a perilous voyage, landed at Gaeta in 1523, and thence proceeded to Rome and to Venice, where he was to embark for the Holy Land. During this journey, as in all those he subsequently undertook, he remained faithful to his penitential habits; sleeping in the open air, begging his bread as he went along, and often distributing to the poor beggars whom he met the alms given to him for his own support.

After a short stay at Venice, where a noble and pious senator, Mark Anthony Trevisano, became his fast friend, Ignatius set sail for the East; on the last day of August 1523 he landed at Jaffa, and on the 3d of September arrived at Jerusalem.

We may imagine with what deep joy he visited the spots watered by the Saviour's blood; it seemed fitting, indeed, that the future founder of an Order, whose history is often but a Via Dolorosa of persecution and suffering, should, at the outset of his apostolic career, seek light and strength on the sacred soil of Calvary.

As has been seen, the desire of Ignatius was to remain in Palestine, and devote himself to the conversion of the Turks and infidels. God, while revealing to him something of the

mission he was to fulfil, had not as yet made it manifest to him in all its details. Paris, not Jerusalem, was to be the cradle of the Society of Jesus, and the saint's desire to remain in the East had to be sacrificed to the order of the Provincial of the Franciscans, who, at that time, exercised a certain jurisdiction over the Christians in the Holy Land, and who bade him return to Europe, on account of the dangers to which the hatred of the Mussulmans exposed the Christian inhabitants. He obeyed; and at the end of 1524 we find him landing at Venice, after an adventurous journey marked by many perils, and by equally numerous signs of Heaven's special protection.

His first care on landing was to write an account of his pilgrimage to his benefactress Ines Pascual, a proof, says one of his biographers, of the lively feelings of gratitude which he always retained for those from whom he had received kindness, a lesson he taught to his children, and left as a legacy to his Society.

It would seem as though God, who destined Ignatius to be the founder of an Order intended to embrace apostolic duties under every form, guided him through the most varied scenes, in order that in his trials and experiences each one of his sons might find his own exemplified. Besides thoroughly chastening and purifying his character, the years that elapsed between his conversion and the permanent establishment of the Society led him through the many paths which his children were to tread in future years. Like them, he travelled far and wide; he suffered cold and hunger, poverty and fatigue; he was treated as an impostor and a heretic; persecuted, reviled, calumniated, and imprisoned. His wanderings lay not only among the simple peasants and peaceful country villages, but in great and corrupt towns; he was brought into contact with merchants, nobles, scholars, learned professors, priests, and prelates, as well as with the beggars and the sick who filled the hospitals where he lodged. He was an apostle and a student; he had to conquer the first difficulties of learning, and in the prime of manhood pored over the rudiments of the Latin grammar.

When, later on, he found himself at the head of the Society

of Jesus, he had passed through all the trials to which his sons might be exposed, each in his different sphere; and to the greatest supernatural graces was added the treasure of a vast experience of the world.

After his return from Jerusalem we find him once more on the way to Barcelona. The war, which was then raging between France and Spain, rendered the passage through Northern Italy peculiarly dangerous. Ignatius was several times arrested as a spy, and had to suffer many insults, and even blows. At length he reached his destination, and was joyfully welcomed by Ines Pascual, in whose house he lived for the two following years. During his journey from Palestine back to Europe it had dawned upon him that, in order to carry out his design of devoting himself to the salvation of souls, it was necessary that he should acquire some knowledge of Latin. Although the knight of bygone days had been an adept in all warlike exercises he knew little of classical learning; and now, at the age of thirty-three, he went to school, and, seated among little children, began to learn with touching diligence the elements of Latin grammar. At the same time he continued his works of zeal, reformed a monastery of nuns, and converted many sinners in the town of Barcelona. Long years afterwards, when God's great servant had gone to his rest, Juan Pascual, the son of Ines, loved to talk of those two years of obscure labour and humility. He related how, in spite of the saint's efforts to pass unnoticed, miraculous tokens would now and then reveal his holiness; he told of his long and fervent prayers, his fearful penances, and of the light that used to shine round his wasted form when raised from the ground in an ecstasy. With tears in his eyes he would repeat to his children that, if they only knew the great sanctity of their former guest, they would never cease kissing the walls of the room which had been honoured by his residence.

In August 1526, having mastered the difficulties of Latin, Ignatius proceeded to the famous University of Alcala to follow a course of philosophy. Here he began for the first time to give the Spiritual Exercises to those who came to consult him.

As was to be expected, persecutions and calumnies were the firstfruits of his apostolate, and he was even accused of heresy; but having been examined by the inquisitor, his innocence was fully recognised and established. However, on account of the storm that had been raised and the jealousy excited against him, he was advised to leave Alcala, and to pursue his studies at the University of Salamanca. Here again he met with persecutions. Two noble ladies, a mother and daughter, both widows—Doña Maria de Vado and Doña Luisa Velasquez—resolved to give up their fortune and position, and to spend their lives in going on pilgrimages on foot to the different shrines throughout Spain. Ignatius, to whom they imparted their plan, looked upon it as a temptation of the evil one, and advised them to stay at home, and devote themselves to the sick and poor of Alcala, pointing out at the same time that the wandering life they dreamt of was unfit for women. However, the two ladies were resolved to execute their plan, and secretly left the town, to the indignation of their friends and relatives, who immediately accused Ignatius of having induced them to take this rash step. Popular feeling was so strong that Figueroa, the lieutenant of police, had the saint arrested and committed to prison. He bore this unjust treatment with perfect meekness; and as he was being led along the streets like the vilest malefactor, a boy of seventeen, on horseback and surrounded by a brilliant retinue, passed, and, struck by the prisoner's dignified and gentle aspect, looked at him attentively, wondering that one whose countenance was so noble should deserve imprisonment and shame. This boy, then known as the Marquis de Lombay, and subsequently as Duke of Gandia, we shall find many years afterwards humbly begging the prisoner of Salamanca to receive him among his sons; later still, when Ignatius has gone to receive his reward, we shall meet with the same youth, under the name of Francis Borgia, at the head of the Society of Jesus, to be honoured in due course of time as a canonised saint of the Church.

An inquiry was set on foot regarding Ignatius's teaching and mode of life, and although he refused to employ an advo-

cate to defend his cause the falseness of the charges against him was clearly proved, and this passing humiliation only served to make his sanctity shine more brightly. Shortly afterwards, the two ladies returned, and publicly testified that, far from encouraging their wanderings, Ignatius had severely condemned them.

From Salamanca the saint resolved to go to the University of Paris, then the most famous in the world, and where an inward voice told him that he was to begin the work of his life, to which these years of wandering and trial had been an arduous but appropriate preparation.

It was on the 2d February 1528 that St. Ignatius, poorly clad, footsore, and weary, entered the great city, the birthplace of the Society of Jesus. He took up his abode at the hospital of St. Jacques, and began to follow the classes of Latin and humanities at the Collége Montaign, and the lectures of philosophy and theology at the College of St. Barbara. He applied himself to study with renewed diligence and ardour, and although his close attendance to the different courses obliged him somewhat to moderate his penances and meditations, all his spare moments were still devoted to prayer or to works of charity. Here, as at Alcala and Salamanca, his austere mode of life, his influence over youth, and the Spiritual Exercises which he continued to give to many of his fellow-students, excited suspicion and jealousy. The new heresy, which had recently broken out in Germany, made even good and wise men mistrustful of any religious practices to which they were unaccustomed; and, on the other hand, the former companions of those whom Ignatius drew to a more austere and perfect life resented his interference by malicious accusations.

Among those who suspected his orthodoxy were Diego Govea, a Portuguese, and Pedro Ortiz, a Spaniard, both celebrated doctors of the university. At their request he was denounced to the tribunal of the Inquisition and examined by Matthew Ori, Prior of the Dominican convent of St. Jacques, who declared that he could discover nothing reprehensible in his conduct or his doctrines. We shall see how, at a later

period, in Rome, Pedro Ortiz, who, when his suspicions were dispelled, fully recognised the sanctity of Ignatius, materially assisted him by his protection, and showed himself a fast friend to the infant Society.

After some time the saint, having found that the distance of the hospital of St. Jacques from the Collége Montaign made him lose much valuable time, established himself in a house close to the college. It would be interesting to know whereabouts in the Quartier Latin was situated St. Ignatius's lowly abode; but it is difficult to form even an idea of what that part of Paris was in his day. No doubt the Montagne Ste. Geneviève, though still covered by the mass of irregular buildings belonging to the far-famed university, had lost much of its quaint aspect since the days when the pupils of Abelard and William of Champeaux supported by handicuffs the respective merits of their rival teachers, or when its crooked and narrow streets were paced by St. John of Matha, St. Edmund of Canterbury, or Albertus Magnus and his young disciple, Thomas of Aquin. Yet, in spite of the changes wrought by centuries, there must have been much that was picturesque in the Quartier des Ecoles, where students from every land came in crowds to seek the teaching of the most famous school in the world. Ignatius soon discovered that the assistance he received from his friends in Spain was not sufficient to defray the increased expenses involved by his change of residence; and he began, during the summer vacations, to undertake distant journeys, in order to collect alms enough to support him during the remainder of the year. He went several times to Flanders, where the Spanish merchants of Antwerp and Bruges liberally assisted him. A young man from Medina del Campo, named Pedro Quadrato, who was established at Antwerp, received and helped him with peculiar generosity. Ignatius, moved by his kindness, looked at him attentively, and said, 'A day will come when you, who so liberally exercise charity towards me, shall, in your own country, establish a house of an Order which God will found by means of the miserable man whom you have helped.' Pedro Quadrato never forgot

these words, and many years afterwards he founded a house of the Society at Medina del Campo. On another occasion the saint came to England for the same object, and, as Father Ribadeneira tells us, collected abundant alms in London. The date of this journey must have been 1531 or 1532, in the last days of Catholic England; for, a very few years later, in 1538, Henry VIII. openly rebelled against the Church, and the darkness of heresy gradually enveloped the Isle of Saints.

One event among many, of his life as a student in Paris, is enough to show how completely the knight of former days had mastered the sensitive pride that characterised his nation and his race. Though many admired his wonderful holiness, there were others of his fellow-students to whom his exemplary life was a reproach and his exhortations a source of intense aversion. They represented him to Don Diego Govea, rector of the College of St. Barbara, as a dangerous and insubordinate subject; and Govea, deceived by these false reports, condemned him to be publicly flogged by the professors in presence of the students, a punishment only used in extreme cases. For a moment the blood of the Spanish nobleman boiled at the thought of the disgrace; but this first impulse was at once conquered by a longing to suffer for Christ; and, notwithstanding the advice of his friends, who urged him to keep away, Ignatius hastened to the college. His only trouble was fear lest the punishment inflicted on their spiritual guide should discourage those whom he had led back to the path of virtue; he sought Govea, and explained to him his own eagerness to suffer and his fears on account of his disciples. As he spoke, a new light seemed to break upon the rector, and the extraordinary sanctity of the humble student became suddenly revealed to him. Then, leading Ignatius to the room where the professors and scholars were already assembled, he fell at his feet, and publicly begged his pardon for having misjudged and unjustly condemned him.

With all his stern self-renunciation, the soldier-saint was full of tenderness for others, as the following anecdote will prove. At the beginning of his stay in Paris, he had intrusted

the little money he possessed to a young Spaniard, who, after spending part of it, ran away with the rest, leaving the saint utterly destitute, and obliged to interrupt his studies in order to beg for his daily bread. Some time afterwards, hearing that this youth was dangerously ill at Rouen, Ignatius instantly left Paris, and walked barefooted to that city, hardly stopping to rest on the way. He nursed the young man with tenderest care, collected money to pay his journey home, and only left him when he was sufficiently recovered to proceed on his road towards Spain.

CHAPTER II.

The First Companions of St. Ignatius.

At Alcala and at Salamanca, Ignatius had found companions, who for a time adopted his mode of life, and even shared some of his persecutions; but, in the designs of Providence, they had not been marked out as the foundation-stones of the Society of Jesus, and, one by one, moved by different reasons, they dropped off and deserted him. It is in Paris that we find gathering around him the chosen six destined by God to share with him in the great work he was about to commence.

The first to be attracted by his holy life was a peasant from the mountains of Savoy, Peter Favre or Lefevre, who, says F. Bouhours, 'possessed great gentleness of character, a solid understanding, and prudence and knowledge, joined to great simplicity and modesty.' At the cost of many sacrifices his parents had sent him to the University of Paris, where he successfully took all his degrees, and in 1529, being then twenty-three years of age, he was appointed to explain to St. Ignatius the lectures of philosophy given at the College of St. Barbara. Before long the position of the two was changed, and the young professor placed himself under the guidance of his pupil to be trained by him to a more perfect spiritual life. In his 'Memorial,' where he noted the chief graces bestowed upon him by God, Blessed Peter Favre relates how Ignatius began by teaching him his own simple habits of devotion—daily examination of conscience, weekly confession and Communion—and gradually, with consummate prudence, led him on to more difficult practices. This went on for four years, after which Favre, whose confidence in his guide was unreserved, went through the Spiritual Exercises; and in after times he was accustomed to say that it had seemed to him like a transition from a tempestuous sea to a haven of peace and rest.

The next to be gained was of a very different stamp. This

was Francis Xavier, of an ancient and noble family of Navarre, who shared Peter Favre's room at the College of Beauvais, and was united to him in close friendship. In 1523, at the age of seventeen, he had come to Paris from his ancestral castle of Xavier, near Pampeluna, and had speedily attracted attention by his great personal beauty, generous disposition, and brilliant intellectual powers; like Ignatius himself in his early days, he was proud, vain, and ambitious, but in place of military glory the object of his desires was the renown that may be earned by learning and science. At first, in spite of the example of Favre, he only felt aversion and contempt for his holy countryman, and it needed a long course of patient kindness on the part of Ignatius, and the constant sight of a sanctity at once sublime and full of charity, to win Xavier's ambitious soul. But of all the first members of the Society none are more illustrious, none accomplished a more glorious work for God, and from none of his companions did St. Ignatius receive more tender filial love.

After the Savoyard peasant and the brilliant Spanish nobleman came James Laynez, a young man of extraordinary genius, a native of Almazan, in Spain, who had heard of Ignatius at Alcala, and had come to Paris in great measure to seek him. He brought with him a youth of eighteen, Alphonsus Salmeron, from Toledo, who, like himself, had long wished to join our saint. To these were soon added Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese, remarkable for his handsome person and his pure and singularly gentle disposition; and Nicolas Bobadilla, from Palencia, in Spain, the son of poor parents, but who possessed great talents, and whose impetuous character contrasted with the gentleness of Rodriguez. To all of these St. Ignatius gave the Spiritual Exercises, and, after this test, being convinced of their firm resolution and ability to help him in his great work, he resolved that they should become the foundation-stones of the future Institute. He explained to them the end and the means of the Order he was about to found: its end was to be the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls, and the means by which this end should be attained were self-denial and works of charity and zeal.

They joyfully responded to his appeal, and on the Feast of the Assumption, 1534, the seven companions assembled in a little chapel on the hill of Montmartre, in Paris.* There Peter Favre, the only one among them who was a priest, said Mass; the others received Holy Communion, and all made vows of poverty and chastity. They further bound themselves to labour for the salvation of souls in the Holy Land, or, if unable to execute this project, to offer themselves to the Pope, to be disposed of by him for the greater glory of God.

On that eventful morning of the fifteenth of August the Society of Jesus was born under the patronage of Mary. A forewarning of its future destiny appears to overshadow its cradle—it first saw the light on a spot watered by the blood of the Apostle of France, fit birthplace of an Order whose records, from that day to this, bear on every page the crimson stain of martyrdom.

Their solemn consecration in the chapel of the 'Martyr's Mount' was never forgotten by the saint's companions, and thirty years afterwards Father Rodriguez used to say that the mere recollection of that moment filled him with inexpressible consolation. The two following years, 1535 and 1536, on the anniversary day, they went again to the little chapel to renew their vows. St. Ignatius was then absent—he had already started for Spain—but they brought with them three new recruits: Claude le Jay, from Geneva; John Codure, from Embrum; and Paschase Brouët, a native of Picardy, who was afterwards surnamed by St. Ignatius 'the Angel of the Society.'†

A few months after his first vows, we find Ignatius once more a wanderer, bending his steps towards Spain. A double

* This spot, doubly sanctified by the martyrdom of St. Denis, the Apostle of Paris, and by the first vows of St. Ignatius and his companions, is now occupied by a small chapel of modern erection, which forms part of an 'ouvrier' directed by the Sisters of Charity, Rue Marie Antoinette, No. 9, at Montmartre.

† In addition to the nine who actually entered the Society in Paris, St. Ignatius there met Jerome Natalis, a native of Majorca, and a man of great talents and nobility of character. Although strongly drawn towards the newly founded Order, he could not summon courage to leave the world, and returned to Majorca. Some years later, a letter written from

object led him thither: obedience to the orders of his physicians, who judged that his native air alone could restore a constitution enfeebled by continual labours and penances, and also a promise he had made to transact some business for those of his disciples who came from Spain. He was unwilling to send these young men on a journey which would interrupt their studies, and perhaps unsettle their vocation; so, having given them a rule of life and special instructions regarding their practices of devotion, he left them in Paris under the care of Peter Favre, and agreed that they should meet him in Venice, on the 25th January 1537, nearly two years later.

It was in Ascension Week, 1535, that a poor and tired pilgrim entered the valley of Loyola. Some look of the bright young knight of former days must have lingered round that pale and emaciated form, for a Basque peasant named Juan de Equibar, who perceived the traveller resting at a wayside inn, immediately exclaimed, 'It is Don Ignacio!' and like wildfire the news spread through the valley.

The priests from Aspeitia, Don Martin Garcia and his family from the castle at Loyola, peasants from the neighbouring hamlets, all poured forth to welcome the wanderer, who, faithful to his new vocation, firmly refused to accept any other shelter than that of the Hospital of the Magdalena. Here he remained during the three months of his stay at Aspeitia, sharing in every respect the life of its poor inhabitants, and only once did he consent to enter his paternal home.

However, if Ignatius had thus severed himself from all worldly ties, his love for his birthplace had been only purified and intensified by his call to perfection. He spent his time preaching to the people, reforming abuses, recalling sinners to the path of virtue, instructing little children, and exercising his influence to found useful institutions for the relief of the poor. He established a Confraternity in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and made it a custom that the church-bells should ring

India by St. Francis Xavier fell into his hands and determined his vocation. He set off for Rome and was received into the Society, of which he became a most eminent member.

three times a day to remind the faithful to pray for all souls in mortal sin. He further obtained that the family of Loyola should bind itself to give away twelve loaves of bread every Sunday to those persons who were most in need of help. In short, as was attested by the witnesses at the process of his canonisation, 'he did all that he wished with the people,' so great was the influence of his holiness. The veneration entertained for his sanctity was confirmed by many striking miracles: several persons were delivered from incurable diseases by merely touching his garments, or by receiving his blessing; and two of his relatives, who had gone to visit him at the Magdalena, were so impressed at seeing him raised from the ground in an ecstasy and surrounded with heavenly light, that they forthwith devoted their lives to the care of the poor and sick. When at last he left Aspeitia, it was amidst the sobs and tears of those who had grown to love the saint even more than they had admired the warrior of former days.

After visiting Almazan, Toledo, and other places, where he settled the affairs of his disciples, Ignatius embarked for Italy, and reached Venice in December 1536. A month later he joyfully welcomed his companions, who had performed the whole journey from Paris on foot.

There is something peculiarly attractive about the early history of most religious orders; the grace and simplicity of childhood and the generous enthusiasm of youth seem to characterise in a special manner the first efforts of these newborn institutes. The Society of Jesus is no exception to this rule, and singularly beautiful are many of the episodes that mark its early years. Thus the journey of St. Ignatius's companions from Paris to Venice, as related by the historians of the Order, presents the thrilling interest of romance. We are told how they walked bravely the whole way, wearing the long robe, then the usual dress of the Paris students, and carrying on their backs a parcel of books. Under their scholar's dress were sharp instruments of penance that made every step a suffering, but could not quench their cheerfulness and courage. They pursued their way through snow and rain, now arrested

by the French troops, who were at war with Germany, now menaced by the German heretics, across whose country lay their route. At times Protestant ministers would stop them to engage them in public discussions; and Laynez, who was the speaker on these occasions, invariably silenced his opponents by his eloquence and irresistible logic. Once an unknown youth of wondrous beauty guided them through a Protestant village, where their lives were threatened, and led them across lonely mountain-paths and wild snow-covered tracks to a place of safety. At Constance, where the inhabitants were all Calvinists, a poor woman, seeing the rosaries hung round their necks, wept for joy, and brought to them quantities of mutilated crosses and broken rosaries, which she had succeeded in rescuing from complete destruction. The fathers, though unable to understand her language, were touched by her evident piety, and, kneeling down before these relics of the ancient faith, they made a fervent act of love and reparation.

During the short time they spent together at Venice, St. Ignatius sent his companions to the different hospitals, where they devoted themselves with untiring zeal to attendance upon the sick, and in this work none showed more ardent devotion and charity than Francis Xavier, by whom the hardest and most repulsive tasks were eagerly sought for and joyously accomplished.

In the mean time St. Ignatius himself was employed in giving the Exercises to several persons of distinction, and then again he was accused of being a heretic in disguise. So long as these accusations had only touched him personally, the saint had always borne them with patience and indifference, and had never been known to seek a justification, which would have wounded his humility. But the time had now arrived when it became necessary to adopt a different line of conduct; his Order was begun, and his personal love for suffering must in future give way before the general interest of the Society. On hearing, therefore, of the charges brought against him at Venice, he went to the Papal Nuncio and begged him to examine into their truth; and the result of the inquiry was a judicial sentence proclaiming his orthodoxy and virtue.

One of the saint's warmest supporters at this time was Cardinal John Peter Caraffa, founder of the Order of Theatines; and though their friendship cooled on the refusal of Ignatius to merge his Institute into that of the Theatines, it fully revived when Caraffa became Pope under the name of Paul IV.

In the month of June 1537, Ignatius sent his companions to Rome to obtain from Paul III., who then occupied the Papal chair, permission to receive Holy Orders. They met with a gracious reception at the pontifical court, where they were presented by Don Pedro Ortiz, the former Doctor of the Paris University, whom the Emperor Charles V. had charged to defend at Rome the validity of the marriage of the unfortunate Catharine of Aragon, from whom Henry VIII. was seeking a divorce.

Meanwhile, St. Ignatius had come to the conclusion that on account of the war then raging between the emperor and the Turks, it would be impossible to execute the proposed pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and so, on his companions' return, he directed them to preach in different towns of Italy. Xavier and Salmeron went to Monte Celso, Le Jay and Rodriguez to Bassano, Brouët and Bobadilla to Verona, Codure and Hozez, a Spaniard who had lately joined, to Treviso; while the holy founder himself, with Favre and Laynez, proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of fulfilling the vow they had all made of placing themselves at the disposal of the Holy See, if unable to reach Jerusalem.

Before dispersing his companions, Ignatius bade them, when they were questioned as to what congregation they belonged to, to reply that they were of the Society of Jesus; and this Name, says F. Bouhours, had been in his thoughts since his sojourn at Manresa. He also deemed it his duty to return to his different benefactors the various sums of money that had been given him towards the journey to Jerusalem, which necessity now obliged him to abandon; he sent back forty gold pieces to Martin Perez, one of his friends, and other sums to different pious Spaniards.

It was on his way to the Eternal City that, in the little wayside chapel of La Storta, St. Ignatius had the memorable vision,

when Jesus Christ, appearing to him, promised to be favourable to him in Rome.

The three travellers reached their journey's end in October 1537. Paul III., who then filled the Papal chair, was patiently opposing the storm of rebellion and heresy that raged around the bark of Peter. Those were dark days for the Church : already Luther's example had produced bitter fruits; several German states and Switzerland had detached themselves from Rome; England was on the verge of heresy; and Calvin's pernicious teaching was spreading fast through the southern provinces of Catholic France. Kings and people alike were heaping insults on their common Mother, while within her fold, and even among her religious orders, the Church had to mourn over many abuses, which were eagerly seized upon and exaggerated by her foes.

However, Paul III. spared no efforts to stem the tide of error and revolt; while he undauntedly defended the cause of truth and justice against external enemies, he established a congregation of wise and holy men to examine and reform the abuses in ecclesiastical discipline.

Such was the state of things when St. Ignatius and his two companions knelt at the feet of the Holy Father, who felt that God was sending to His Church, in her hour of need, new instruments to heal her wounds and trained soldiers to fight her battles. Luther had just broken through his monastic vows, and proclaimed liberty of thought and rebellion against Rome; and these men came with their solemn promises of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and their filial devotion to the Holy See. After kindly welcoming the pilgrims, the Pope assured Ignatius of his good-will and protection, and, as a proof of his confidence, appointed Favre and Laynez to teach divinity and sacred history at the college of the Sapienza. A few months later, the holy founder summoned his other companions to Rome. Since his departure from Venice, one of them, Diego Hozez, had died of fever at Padua, and Ignatius, then at Monte Cassino, had seen his soul carried to Paradise by the angels. His place in the Society was filled soon afterwards by a young

Spaniard of great promise, Francis Strada, who eventually became one of the most celebrated preachers in Europe.

It had been the father's desire to lose no time in begging Paul III. to erect the Society into a religious order, but the Pope had gone to Nice to be present at the interview between Charles V. and Francis I. While awaiting his return, Ignatius gave the Spiritual Exercises to many persons in Rome, among others to the learned Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, and to the Spanish envoy, Pedro Ortiz; and his disciples employed themselves by preaching in different churches, catechising children and the poor. The extraordinary success attending their efforts aroused the jealousy of an Augustinian monk, whose heretical opinions had been previously detected by Laynez and Salmeron. At his instigation false witnesses came forward and declared that Ignatius had some years before been condemned for heresy and sorcery at Alcala, in Paris, and at Venice. Seeing that this report rapidly gained ground, the saint demanded that the affair should be publicly examined; he who at Manresa and Barcelona had thirsted for humiliations and suffering, felt that he was now bound to let no suspicion rest on the cradle of his infant Society and paralyse its efforts for the glory of God. The matter was carried before the Pope, then at Frascati, and it fortunately happened that three men of mark, who had known Ignatius at the very period mentioned by his accusers, were at that moment in Rome for their own affairs: Figueroa, the lieutenant of police, of Alcala; Matthew Ori, the Inquisitor, before whom the saint had been examined in Paris; and Gaspar de Doctis, secretary to the Papal Nuncio at Venice. It seemed as though Providence had brought them together for the express purpose of proving the innocence of God's servant. A sentence was issued that covered Ignatius and his companions with honour, and convicted their accusers of falsehood and calumny, and copies of it were distributed all over Italy, and sent even to Spain. At the same time the book of the Exercises was examined, and not only approved, but warmly praised and recommended.

The Augustinian monk, who had been the chief mover in the

conspiracy, subsequently fled to Geneva, where he renounced his monastic habit and openly preached heresy. Among the persons whom he had instigated to bear false witness, one, Pedro of Castile, was imprisoned for life, but repented his crime, and expired in the arms of a Jesuit, Father Aveglianeda; and another, who fell into great poverty in his distress, applied to St. Ignatius, by whom he was generously assisted.

At the close of 1538, on Christmas-night, the holy founder, whose profound humility had hitherto made him defer this great event, said his first Mass in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

The winter of that year was unusually severe in Rome, and to the misery of intense cold were added the horrors of famine. Ignatius and his companions devoted themselves heart and soul to the relief of the sufferers; day and night they were to be found seeking out the poor, nursing the sick, assisting the dying, and imparting to all spiritual and temporal consolations. Their poverty was extreme, but they distributed to the needy around them all the alms they could collect, those especially that were sent to them by Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, who even in these early days was a firm friend to Ignatius and his Society; and Rome was still under the impression produced by their tender charity, when the saint presented the plan and Constitutions of his Institute to Paul III.

Some delay ensued before the difficulties and objections raised by a few Cardinals, who were opposed to the foundation of any new religious orders, could be removed; but at length the Pope—who, on glancing over the plan of the Institute, had exclaimed, 'The finger of God is here!'—gave it his solemn approval by the Bull *Regimini militantes Ecclesiæ*, on the 27th September 1540.

The Pope's sanction having been obtained, the next step to be taken was the election of a General, and after a few days' earnest prayer each member gave his vote. Francis Xavier and Rodriguez were in Portugal, Favre had been sent by the Pope to the Diet of Worms, and Bobadilla to the island of

Ischia; but they had previously given their suffrages by writing, and Ignatius of Loyola was unanimously elected.* In his humility, however, the saint declined the proffered dignity, and, at his earnest prayer, a second election took place. The result being the same, he submitted; and on Easter Sunday, the 17th April 1541, he accepted the government of the Society. On the 22d of the same month, after visiting the seven Basilicas of Rome, he said Mass in the Church of St. Paul beyond the walls, where he made his own solemn vows and received those of his companions. The Society of Jesus, founded six years before in the little Chapel of the Martyr's Mount, was now canonically established and recognised by the Holy See.

Nine days before the formal approbation of the Institute, on the 18th September 1540, a new novice was admitted, whose history forms one of the brightest episodes of those early days, and throws a strong light on the personal character of St. Ignatius.†

Among the pages of Cardinal Farnese, nephew to Pope Paul III., was a Spanish boy from Toledo, Peter Ribadeneira, who had entered the Cardinal's service the previous year, 1539, when the Holy Father sent him to Spain to condole with Charles V. on the death of his wife, the Empress Isabel. The Cardinal appears to have taken a strong fancy to the child, who was then only thirteen, and who to a winning manner and much intelligence united an unruly and petulant character, that occasionally manifested itself in his encounters with his brother-pages. Thus, once in the midst of a brilliant reception, held by the Pope, Ribadeneira excited general confusion by giving a violent blow to the page of another grandee, and then attacking him with the lighted torch he held in his hand. Cardinal Farnese seems to have been a most indulgent master,

* It is a proof of the veneration in which Peter Favre was held by his brethren, that both St. Francis Xavier and John Codure gave him their votes, in case of the death of St. Ignatius. The vote of the holy founder himself denotes the wisdom that distinguished him; it ran thus: 'In presence of God, and myself excepted, I give my voice that he should become our Superior who unites the greatest number of votes.'

† *Histoire du P. Ribadeneira*, P. Prat, S.J.

as this and other traits of the same kind were left unpunished. The boy was taught riding, gymnastics, and literature, and at first he thoroughly enjoyed the state and grandeur of his life in the Cardinal's palace.

Pedro Ortiz, who, as we have seen, was then in Rome on an embassy from Charles V., took a warm interest in the little page, like himself, a native of Toledo, and whose pious mother had recommended him to his care. When called away to Germany on a diplomatic mission, he gave Ribadeneira the address of his holy countryman, Ignatius of Loyola, and advised him to go and see him. However, the boy soon forgot the parting injunction of his friend, and only recollected it fourteen or fifteen months later. He had then begun to get weary of his life as a page, and had become more unruly than ever. One day, when the Cardinal went into the country, instead of accompanying him, Ribadeneira made his escape, and spent the day wandering about the streets of Rome. As the evening closed in he began to feel afraid of returning to the palace, where a lecture and perhaps a punishment awaited him. When thus anxious and troubled, he passed before a poor-looking house, and suddenly it flashed upon him that this was the abode of Ignatius of Loyola, whom Ortiz had recommended him to visit. He knocked, induced chiefly by the thought that perhaps the holy Spaniard would intercede for him with his master. The saint himself opened the door, and the boy immediately poured out to him his name and history, his past disobedience and present trouble. St. Ignatius embraced him affectionately, made him go in, and promised to plead his cause with the Cardinal. Ribadeneira spent the night in the house of the fathers, who all made much of him, and the next day, thanks to the saint's intercession, he was received back by his long-indulgent master.

But a change had come over the child's restless spirit; he could not forget the peace and calm of the lowly dwelling of St. Ignatius and his companions; and to the intense surprise of Cardinal Farnese and his household, who looked upon it as a fresh whim, he asked to be admitted into the newly-founded

Society. He was only fourteen, and knew nothing of the duties of religious life; but the holy founder, acting by a special inspiration, received him into the Order. It was a great change to pass from the splendour of Cardinal Farnese's palace to the half-ruined house, which was the first abode of the Society in Rome. But in his new position the boy lost none of his spirits, and his exuberant gaiety, petulance, and childishness sorely tried the patience of the fathers; St. Ignatius, however, constantly took his part, predicting that the time would come when he would render great services to the Institute. Meantime, he trained him with much patience and tact: on the Christmas-day that followed his entrance he made his first Communion at the hands of the saint, and put on the religious habit of the Society. Though his thoughtlessness was for a long time a mortification to the Community, by degrees his faults were corrected, and his naturally noble character developed itself under the indulgent care of St. Ignatius. Ribadeneira had a most tender love for his spiritual father, and did his best to obey his instructions. When the saint told him that, instead of jumping and running up and down stairs and along the passages, he should walk composedly, as became a religious, the boy, fearing that he might forget this advice, tied cords round his legs to serve as a perpetual reminder. Like all children of his age, he was a heavy sleeper, and, in spite of his efforts, could not always succeed in getting up in time; so to save trouble he took to sleeping in his clothes, a practice which Ignatius, on discovering, forbade him to continue; and when it was his turn to sweep the rooms and passages, he did it so impetuously that he raised clouds of dust, which he was afterwards told to remove. However, as time went on, a gradual transformation took place in the character of the petulant young novice, and we shall, in after years, have some difficulty in identifying him with the eminent writer and wise Superior, one of the most valuable members of the Society of Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and the Spiritual Exercises.

BEFORE proceeding further in the history of the Society of Jesus it is necessary to give a sketch of the Constitutions by which it is governed, and also of its most precious treasure, the book of the Spiritual Exercises. St. Ignatius is the sole author of the Constitutions, which, if often made the subject of attacks and accusations, dictated by ignorance or malice, have on the other hand excited the admiration of thousands of learned and holy men.

The Council of Trent declared the Society of Jesus to be a 'pious Institute' (*pium institutum*). Gregory XIII., in his Bull *Quanto fructuosius*, recognises in the Order a 'divine instinct;' twenty Sovereign Pontiffs solemnly approved its Constitutions, which were not condemned even at the suppression of the Society; and several Popes, amongst whom are Julius III., Gregory XIII., Gregory XIV., and Paul V., have, by severe pains and penalties, guarded them against innovations. After the testimony of the Church in favour of the Institute of St. Ignatius comes that of statesmen, who, like Richelieu, have regarded the Constitutions as a work of genius, and even Protestants of our own day have not withheld their tribute of admiration to the legislative and administrative power of St. Ignatius.* The Constitutions, which, from a human point of view alone, are sufficient to place the soldier-saint among the world's ablest legislators, were drawn out by him with extraordinary deliberation, accompanied by fervent prayer. He began by examining each article according to the light of common sense, and proposed to himself the serious motives for

* 'The Founders of Jesuitism,' Essays by the Right Hon. Sir James Stephens, K.C.B.; Essays, Macaulay.

and against it. As an instance of his care in this matter, we may mention that on one single point, which was not even a very important one, there were found among his papers eight reasons written down in support of one view and fifteen in support of another. Then, placing himself above all feelings of self-love or prejudice, he strove to weigh calmly and dispassionately the different motives he had found; after this, having done all that was required by prudence, he consulted God with childlike simplicity, 'as though he had nothing to do but to write down what God should dictate.'* He fervently begged Jesus Christ, by the intercession of our Lady, to show him what was best for God's glory and the good of the Institute, and often, though feeling very strongly drawn towards some particular resolution, he nevertheless persevered in prayer for more light and certainty. Thus, on one occasion he prayed unceasingly during forty days for enlightenment upon one special point.

Several conditions are requisite for those who aspire to enter the Society of Jesus; one is that they should not have belonged, even for a day, to any other religious order. St. Ignatius also excludes apostates, public sinners, great criminals, and men of weak intellect or subject to insanity. He recommends that Superiors should carefully inquire whether those who wish to enter are of legitimate birth; and he insists that if their vocation appears to have been suggested to them by a member of the Order, it should be examined with special care and prudence. The saint returns to this point in several parts of the Constitutions, and his teaching on the subject is an answer to those who accuse the Jesuits of entrapping young men to join the Institute. He says: 'Let the Provincial see that none amongst us over-persuade any one to enter the Society.'† And again: 'By private conversations with his pupils, the professor of the lower classes shall foster in their souls sentiments of piety, but not in such a manner as to seem to entice any one to our Order; if he

* *Vie de Saint Ignace*, par le Père Bouhours, p. 299.
† Inst. S.J., Regulæ Provincialis.

remarks any inclination of the kind, let him leave it to the confessor.'*

St. Ignatius, so strict on the admission of novices, decrees with equal severity that disedifying, discontented, insubordinate, and even useless and idle members of the Order shall be expelled, though not without mature consideration, and throughout his own generalate he was excessively strict on this point.

The object of the Society of Jesus is the greater glory of God (*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*) and the sanctification of souls, and the chief characteristic of its members is obedience.

The questions asked of the postulant for admission acquaint him at once with the life that awaits him, with its aim, its duties, and the sacrifices it demands. 'Are you ready,' he is asked, 'to renounce the world, all possession and all hope of temporal goods? Are you ready, if necessary, to beg your bread from door to door for the love of Jesus Christ?† Are you ready to reside in any country and to embrace any employment where your Superiors may think you will be most useful to the glory of God and the good of souls?‡ Are you ready to obey in all things, in which there is evidently no sin, the Superiors, who hold towards you the place of God?§ Do you feel resolved generously to renounce without reserve all those things which men in general love and embrace, and will you accept and desire with all your strength what our Lord Jesus Christ loved and embraced? Do you consent to put on the livery of humiliation, worn by Him, to suffer as He did, and for the love of Him, unmerited contempt, calumnies, and insults?'‖

If the postulant answers these questions in the affirmative, the gates of the novitiate open before him, and he enters upon

* *Ratio Studiorum:* 'Regulæ communes professoribus classium inferiorum,' R. 6.

† Const. part vi., Institut. S., vol. i. p. 345.

‡ Const. part iii., Institut. S., vol. i. p. 356.

§ Const. part iii., Institut. S., vol. i. p. 373.

‖ Institut. S., vol. i. p. 352. *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites*, P. de Ravignan.

two years of deep seclusion and constant prayer. In order to exercise their memory the Jesuit novices are obliged to learn daily a short lesson by heart; but, with this exception, St. Ignatius decrees that all study shall be rigorously banished, in order that the future religious may devote himself solely to the practice of virtue, and especially of humility. The life of the novice is one of entire self-sacrifice, childlike obedience, perfect poverty, and self-denial. Indoors, all the housework and menial employment fall to his share; if he goes out he is occupied in visiting hospitals, catechising poor children, and once during his novitiate he is sent on a pilgrimage, which generally lasts a month. He performs it with one companion, always on foot, and begging his bread the whole way.

After two years of this severe training the novice is admitted to make his first vows, and, being now formed to self-renunciation, is permitted to pursue his studies. 'After,' says the holy founder, 'the foundation of self-denial has been laid in the soul of those who are admitted amongst us, it will be time to build up the edifice of knowledge.'* Hence the years that immediately follow the novitiate are devoted to the study of rhetoric, literature, philosophy, natural sciences, mathematics, and history. St. Ignatius, who destined his children to cope with evil under its most subtle and intellectual form, laid great stress on the course of studies which were to fit them for this laborious ministry. We shall see this more fully when we come to the admirable *Ratio Studiorum*, which forms so important a part of the Institute. To the novitiate and the studies that follow it succeed five or six years of teaching in colleges, during which time the lessons of sacrifice, already so deeply impressed in the soul of the young Jesuit, are called into practice by the exercise of a ministry noble in its object, but often painful in its daily routine of small difficulties and trials. Towards the age of twenty-eight or thirty he is sent to prepare himself more immediately for the priesthood; his life does not cease to be laborious, but its exertions take a different form. From the busy college life he plunges into a long

* Const. iv., Instit. S., vol. i. p. 378.

and deep course of study, which lasts about four years. Once more he finds himself in an atmosphere of peace and silence, but all the powers of intellect are now called into action; the study of theology, canon law, sacred history, and Eastern languages occupies his time; at the end of each year he undergoes a strict examination, and unless this proves satisfactory is not permitted to pursue his course.

St. Ignatius leaves it to the wisdom of the Superiors to determine the amount of study of which each one is capable, but he himself regulated with great precision the general rules to be followed by all. Here, as in many other points of the Constitutions, his personal experience rendered him good service. At Alcala he had found his progress much delayed by the want of method in the teaching, and this led him to decree that the students of the Society should not pass from one branch of study to another until they had thoroughly mastered the previous subject. He remembered, also, that by multiplying his exercises of charity and devotion, and his practices of penance, his own studies had often been interfered with, and his health endangered; he therefore decided that the scholastics should be employed in exterior works of zeal rarely and with great limitation, that their health should be carefully watched, and that they should always have a villa or country house to which they might retire for rest and recreation. Towards the age of thirty-three, when the Jesuit scholastic receives the order of priesthood, it might be supposed that he must be thoroughly formed and grounded. He has passed through many trials and experiences, from the prayers and penances of his novitiate to the years of study that follow it; then from the active mission of a professor to three or four years of the closest intellectual labour. But St. Ignatius is not yet satisfied: when the religious of the Society is a priest, generally about thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, well grounded in learning, trained to solid virtue, and experienced in spiritual life, he is sent to a second novitiate, and is told once more to cast aside all study, and, as in the first days of his religious life, to devote himself solely to prayer and self-examination.

This, says Father Ravignan, is the masterpiece of St. Ignatius; and to the members of the Order it is the crowning grace of their religious vocation, the last and strongest link that binds them to God and to the Society of Jesus.

During this last year of probation the holy founder directs the religious to exercise himself *in schola affectus* (the school of the heart), a beautiful expression denoting the object of this last trial. He shall practise, continues St. Ignatius, self-denial and humility, renouncing all merely natural inclinations, and advancing in the love of God. During thirty days he goes through the Spiritual Exercises in unbroken silence, and after this he is sometimes allowed to preach in country villages, or to catechise poor children. At the end of the year his progress is reported to the Father General, with whose approbation he pronounces his solemn vows, either as a professed father or as a spiritual coadjutor. These two classes are on a footing of perfect equality in the Society: the professed have passed through four full years of theological study, and satisfied the appointed examinations as to their knowledge; they constitute the Society of Jesus in its most technical sense. The spiritual coadjutors have not passed through the same amount of study; but their peculiar fitness may often occasion their appointment to important posts of government in the various houses and colleges of the Society, though a very limited number of employments are reserved to professed fathers.

The final vows crown the wise and prudent legislation drawn up by St. Ignatius, who, more than any other founders of religious orders, has multiplied trials and probations as a test of vocation. The religious is now launched into active apostolic life: he has been trained by stern self-discipline to carry out the watchword of his Institute, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam,' and is ready for any post to which he may be sent. His mission may perhaps lie under the scorching sun of some tropical land, or else in the noisy courts or crowded class-rooms of a college; in the confessional, in the pulpit, in the heart of great cities, in prisons or on battle-fields,—everywhere labour, and probably suffering, will be his portion; nay even, as in the last few

years, his efforts may be crowned by captivity and martyrdom.

In whatever position he is placed, certain exercises of his life are regulated by his founder. He rises at a very early hour, and, after a brief visit to the Blessed Sacrament, makes an hour's meditation alone in his room. This is followed by Mass and the round of daily occupations : active apostolic and missionary work for some ; teaching or hard study for others. Towards midday is a pause in the day's work ; and a quarter of an hour is given to examination of conscience, a practice highly prized by St. Ignatius. His sons are exhorted to detach their thoughts from the busy round of cares and duties that form their life, and to seek in prayer strength to meet the labour still before them. After dinner and a visit to the chapel comes an hour's recreation, taken in common ; then the usual occupations are resumed. Advice and help are freely given, confessions heard, and children trained to piety and learning. In the evening the community assembles for supper and a short recreation, after which the Litanies of the Saints are said in the chapel ; and then each one in his room devotes half an hour to spiritual reading and to examination of conscience before retiring to rest.

St. Ignatius, who meant his disciples to be soldiers always under arms in the Church's service, did not impose upon them the long vigils, fasts, and macerations which form so important a feature in the rules of contemplative orders, but which would be necessarily incompatible with the duties of missionaries and instructors of youth. While it excelled in vast conceptions his masterly mind could bend itself with equal facility to the regulation of the smallest details. Thus he fixed all that concerned the amount of sleep to be allowed the members of his Order, and the quality of their food, which was to be frugal, but sufficient to give them strength for their daily work. Corporal mortifications, disciplines, iron chains, and hair shirts are left to the judgment of each with the advice of the spiritual father, but are never to interfere or hinder the performance of the active duties that form so integral a part of the Jesuit's vocation. On

the other hand, more perhaps than any other founder, St. Ignatius insists upon mortification of the will and humility, and makes these virtues the very foundation of his Society.

The government of the Institute has been, like the rest of its Constitutions, subject to misrepresentation; but here again an unprejudiced mind will recognise the rare legislative power, aided by supernatural lights, that belonged to St. Ignatius. The General is the head of the Society of Jesus; but while investing him with clearly-defined and supreme authority, St. Ignatius multiplies precautions to prevent this power from degenerating into despotism. On the election of a new General, the professed fathers and the rectors in each province assemble and select two professed fathers, who accompany the Provincial to the General Congregation, by which the head of the Society is chosen. The General, says St. Ignatius, should possess a great habit of union with God and a piety to serve as an example to his brethren. Charity and humility should specially characterise him; he should unite gentleness and love of discipline, never allowing any relaxation of the rules, and yet showing himself full of compassion for his children, even when obliged to reprove and correct them. He must, continues the saint, endeavour to be composed in his exterior, prudent in his words, wise in his judgments. He can have no private purse or annual pension; and his personal expenses may be increased or curtailed by the Society, to whose decision in this matter he is bound to submit. Towards the common possessions he holds the position of a trustee, and is bound to administer them, not according to his own pleasure, but for the general good of the Order.

Several assistants, belonging to different nationalities and, like himself, appointed by election, are assigned to the Father General; and these he consults on matters regarding the administration of the Order. An admonitor is likewise elected; and his duty is to be a prudent counsellor, ever at hand, to advise on all that concerns the General's private conduct. In an extreme case, which has never occurred, the provinces of the Society might elect deputies to depose the head of the Order.

The Father General has the appointment of three examiners; and no book can be published by any member of the Institute without his approval or that of the censors delegated by him for the purpose. The most perfect and implicit obedience is owed to him by all the members; and he in his turn promises the same to the Pope.

But in order that he may be thoroughly acquainted with every department of the vast body intrusted to his guidance he receives, every three years, from each province a catalogue of its members, recording their names, ages, capabilities, talents, and progress in virtue. At stated intervals each local Superior must write to the Provincial, to give him an account of the house under his care; and at longer intervals he, in his turn, sends a similar report to the Father General.

Although the authority of the head of the Society is supreme, it is at the same time a paternal and loving rule; and any member of the Order may freely write to the General for advice and assistance.

The Society is divided into provinces, comprising a certain number of houses, and governed by a Provincial, who is assisted by consultors and by an admonitor, named by the General; and each house is governed by a Superior, who also has his consultors and an admonitor.

The great law of obedience is the secret of the perfect discipline that pervades this vast organisation; and the rules of St. Ignatius on this point have, more than on any other, been subject to wilful or ignorant misrepresentation.

St. Ignatius writes thus: 'All shall study chiefly to observe obedience, and to excel therein. . . . They must have before their eyes God, our Creator and Lord, for whose sake they render obedience to men.' So great indeed was the importance he attached to this virtue that one of his last acts shortly before his death was to write out his thoughts upon obedience, therein summing up all his doctrine on the subject. In his Constitutions occur the famous oft-quoted words: 'perinde ac si cadavera essent.' 'Let each one persuade himself that those who live under obedience ought to allow themselves to be

moved and directed by the Divine Providence through their Superiors, just as though they were a dead corpse, which allows itself to be carried anywhere and to be treated anyhow, or as an old man's staff, which gives itself to the use of him who holds it in his hand in whatsoever way he will.'*

The obedience of the Jesuit is therefore to be entire and absolute in all things where there is no sin; but it is no slavery, and is ennobled by the fact that it springs from the highest motives. The soldier-saint, who is so often represented as the sternest of disciplinarians, particularly insists upon a spirit of cheerful obedience: 'In all things that are not sin obedience to Superiors should be prompt, docile, joyous, and persevering,' dictated by love rather than by servile fear, and dignified by the knowledge that God Himself commands in the person of Superiors. 'The obedient religious,' continues St. Ignatius, 'accomplishes joyfully that which his Superiors have confided to him for the general good, assured that thereby he corresponds truly with the Divine Will.'

St. Ignatius has been accused of rendering the law of obedience hard and degrading, though, in point of fact, other founders, St. Benedict and St. Basil, for instance, have imposed obligations as stringent, and in a more unconditional manner. The first literally bids his disciples obey even in things that are deemed impossible; the second tells his monks that they are to be as is the tool in the hands of the workman; while St. Francis of Assisi only regarded as really obedient the man who let himself be placed, displaced, ordered about with as little resistance as a lifeless body. He was accustomed to say to his religious: 'I wish to have dead men and not living ones for my disciples.'

The founder of the Society of Jesus not only makes the spirit of the law cheerful and loving, but he also permits inferiors to address representations to their Superiors, provided they first consult God in earnest prayer.

Such is a rapid and incomplete sketch of the legislation drawn up by St. Ignatius—a legislation, the wisdom of which

* Const. p. vi. c. 1.

has been demonstrated by the experience of three centuries, and by the fact that even its worst enemies have been unable to prove that the Institute has ever degenerated in the slightest degree from the rules and spirit of its founder.

Before thoroughly completing the Constitutions, St. Ignatius drew up some brief instructions for the guidance of his disciples in the mean while, and in these is contained in germ the whole of his prudent and elaborate spiritual legislation.

The first rule exhorts the fathers to keep their hearts always raised to God and filled with His love, to take Jesus Christ as their model and example, and everywhere, in solitude as in society, in the quiet of their private rooms as in the activity of their daily employments, to consider themselves as being constantly in the presence of God and watched by His all-seeing eye.

They are exhorted, secondly, to see God in the person of their Superiors, and therefore they are to obey the commands given them with promptitude, cheerfulness, and perfect confidence.

Thirdly, they must have great love and charity for sinners; but at the same time their zeal must be tempered with calmness and discretion.

Fourthly, all vain and light conversation is prohibited among them, and they are exhorted to keep silence except when called upon to speak for the good of others.

Fifthly, humility is enjoined in the midst of apostolic labours: a religious should not be discouraged if, after the example of Jesus Christ, his efforts are treated with contempt, or are apparently unsuccessful.

Sixthly, let those who fall into any fault beware of discouragement, but rather let them thank God, who has shown them their frailty; and let their brethren profit by the lesson, and pray for him who has committed the fault.

Seventhly, at recreation the fathers should avoid a sombre gravity as much as immoderate mirth.

They should, eighthly, never neglect an immediate oppor-

tunity of doing good in the uncertain hope of procuring a greater good in the future: this is an artifice by which the devil would hinder them from doing useful and commonplace works.

Lastly, St. Ignatius exhorts them to beware of the devil's attempts to unsettle them in their holy vocation and to fill their souls with sadness and trouble.

In his Constitutions the founder of the Society appears in the twofold character of a saint and a lawgiver; in the book of the *Spiritual Exercises*—which may be regarded, not as part of the legislation of the Institute, but as its very soul and fountain-head—he shines as the greatest master of the spiritual life, and here and there we recognise, supernaturalised and applied to spiritual things, the warlike and chivalrous ideas of the Spanish knight.

'The book of the *Spiritual Exercises*,' says Father de Ravignan, 'is a manual for Retreats, a method for meditation, and at the same time a collection of thoughts and precepts for directing the soul in the work of interior sanctification and in the choice of a state of life. It is a book to be practised rather than read through, and can only be justly appreciated by those who speak of it from experience.'

It was composed at Manresa, at a time when, looking back at his past life, St. Ignatius analysed the struggles through which he had passed in his conversion, and pondered over the succession of wondrous graces that had led his soul on its upward path. Moved by God, he recorded the results of these experiences and inspirations for the help and enlightenment of other souls struggling along the same steep and rugged road. Thus it comes that his book is one to be *practised;* it is, as it were, the practical guide of the soul in its effort to break through the sins and imperfections that keep it from its Maker. It is not even a book to be gone through alone, but it needs a wise and experienced director to explain its precious lessons and to apply them to the strength and capacity of each individual soul; for, as its name implies, it involves much personal labour, and leads the soul through an ordeal of arduous

preparation and thorough reform. The four parts into which the Exercises are divided are called Four Weeks, a name derived from the four divisions of the month which they are supposed to fill. If the time is curtailed the four divisions still retain habitually the name of weeks.

The first week lays down the foundation of the first *principle* of the Christian life: man is created to become happy by serving God; he is to serve God by the use of creatures; but these creatures too often draw him to themselves and away from the end for which he was created. In this consists sin, and the exercitant meditates—in the case of the fallen angels, the ruined world, and a lost soul—on the terrible consequences of sin. He then considers his own case; and here follows a strict examination of conscience, the soul striving to place itself in the light of eternal truth and to weigh all things in their bearing on its eternal destiny. The punishment of sin, as revealed to the Christian, completes the considerations which lead to the intended result of the first week—sorrow for sin and hatred of it, and the firm resolution to abandon it.

The second, third, and fourth weeks of the Spiritual Exercises are the training of the Christian to perfection after sin has been abandoned. They consist of a few wonderful meditations, which form a kind of framework, into which a number of contemplations on the Life, Passion, and Resurrection of our Lord are let in. The second week begins with a parable, in which the son of a Christian sovereign is exhibited as levying soldiers for the subjection of heathendom to his father's sway: all generous hearts answer the invitation, and, if they would signalise themselves, they offer to their sovereign all they possess along with their personal service. As they follow the earthly warlike leader so we are to follow Christ. This is our work, to follow Christ; and when this has been fixed in the mind contemplations on the Incarnation and Childhood of our Lord delineate the character of Him whom we have to follow. Another meditation, that of the 'Two Standards,' makes it evident that the wish to follow Christ means the same thing as the wish to be humble; and this is

further developed in another meditation on the three classes of men. The real meaning of humility is explained in a consideration on the three kinds of humility; the truth is there brought home that humility can only be acquired by bearing humiliations well, and that the real desire of humility implies the welcoming, as Christ did, of every species of humiliation. The contemplations which accompany these meditations portray the manner in which our Lord welcomed humiliations, and introduce also His public life in order to inspire the exercitant with a zeal for souls. The third week exhibits Christ's sufferings, and intensifies the good purpose of welcoming the greatest humiliations for the sake of acquiring humility; and the fourth week exhibits in Christ risen and ascended the reward which awaits God's faithful soldier. The Exercises end with a contemplation inspiring the love of God: He gives us all our blessings, He makes them blessings to us by His presence and coöperation, and He is the source of all blessedness, the sun of goodness, of which all things that are good are but raylets.

The book of the *Exercises* is pervaded by an essentially active spirit—it is all life and labour, but at the same time it has a character of singular calmness and deliberation, and perfect method and order reign throughout. Every step by which the soul is led has been carefully prepared, every resolution taken has been long and gravely balanced; repentance is the starting-point, humility the road, and the love of God the crowning of the enterprise.

By the wish of St. Ignatius the book of the *Spiritual Exercises* was scrupulously and repeatedly examined at Rome. It was formally approved by a Bull of Pope Paul III. on the 31st of July 1548, where it is declared to be 'full of piety and holiness, very useful and salutary, tending to the edification and spiritual progress of the faithful.'* It has been remarked that there is perhaps no other instance of a book having been approved in such marked terms of praise.

Before concluding this brief account of the Constitutions by

* *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites*, p. 37.

which the Society of Jesus is governed, and the *Spiritual Exercises* from which it draws its life and spirit, we must notice a trait that characterises St. Ignatius among all other founders of religious orders,—his thirst for humiliations and sufferings.

One of his first cares was to exclude his children from all ecclesiastical honours. They are bound to refuse every offer of an ecclesiastical dignity unless the Pope should enjoin them, under pain of sin, to accept it. This was the case with the few Jesuits whom we find raised to the purple, and whose elevation was ever a source of sorrow and regret to themselves and to their Order. From the very origin of the Society we shall see the bishop's mitre and the cardinal's hat repeatedly pressed upon its sons, and as earnestly rejected by men like Canisius, Laynez, Borgia, Le Jay, Bobadilla; while others, like Toletus and Bellarmine, only submitted to the Pope's absolute command after sincere resistance and with heartfelt grief. In heathen lands, however, where the episcopal dignity is but a source of greater suffering, and a surer stepping-stone to martyrdom, we find several Jesuit Bishops now as in past times.

St. Ignatius was ambitious for his children; if he raised a barrier between them and ecclesiastical honours, he prayed that they might be blessed with another gift—the heritage of suffering that their Lord had borne before them. Father Bartoli tells us that one day the saint's countenance, generally so calm, was sad and anxious; on being questioned he replied that a certain province of the Society was just then enjoying extraordinary tranquillity, and that he regarded this as the punishment of some fault, for which our Lord had excluded that portion of the Institute from a share in the sufferings of His Passion. On another occasion St. Ignatius's favourite child, Peter Ribadeneira, met him coming from a long meditation, and judging from his radiant look that something extraordinary had happened, he questioned him familiarly, as was his custom. At first the saint smiled in silence, but as Ribadeneira insisted, he said: 'Well, Pedro, as you wish to know, I will tell you. During my meditation our Lord deigned to appear to me, and to assure me Himself that, in consequence of my earnest

prayers to this intention, the Society will never cease, as long as it exists, to enjoy the precious heritage of His Passion in the midst of contradictions and persecutions.'

Surely never was a prayer so fully granted !

CHAPTER IV.

St. Ignatius, First General of the Society.

As has been seen, the Society of Jesus was now formally approved by the Holy See, and St. Ignatius had been elected its first General.

A very few years had elapsed since the day on which, in the little chapel of the Martyr's Hill, in Paris, six men, full of glorious gifts of virtue and intellect, but young in years and unknown to fame, had vowed themselves to God's service under the guidance of Ignatius; and now the new-born Institute was taking part in all the religious and political events of the day. A few months before the formal recognition of the Order, John III., King of Portugal, had requested the Pope, Paul III., to send him two of the companions of St. Ignatius, for the purpose of evangelising the Indies. He had heard of their learning and virtue from Diego Govea, the former doctor of the Paris University, who, after suspecting the saint's orthodoxy, had become, as has been seen, one of his warmest admirers and friends. Rodriguez and Bobadilla were the first appointed to proceed to Portugal; but the latter fell dangerously ill, and at the last moment St. Ignatius called Francis Xavier to him and bade him take Bobadilla's place.

Many are the descriptions left to us of this beloved apostle, St. Ignatius's most glorious and gifted child, with his burning love of God, his intense zeal for souls, his sweetness, patience, tenderness, and charity; his winning ways and extraordinary influence over the souls of men. Even Protestants and infidels have done homage to one whose deeds earned for him the sympathy and admiration of the very enemies of the faith he preached, and drew from them the exclamation: 'Being what you are, would to God you belonged to us!'*

* Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

After receiving the blessing of the Pope and the parting embrace of his beloved father Ignatius, whom he was never destined to meet again on earth, Francis Xavier joyfully started on his life-long apostolate. Rodriguez was appointed by the king to remain in Portugal; and on the 7th of April 1541, his thirty-fifth birthday, St. Francis embarked for India, accompanied by Father Paul de Camerino and Francis Mancias. The first only was a priest; the second, a Portuguese by birth, had not yet received holy orders. John III. had procured for the holy missionary Briefs from Rome, giving him most ample spiritual faculties and jurisdiction, and appointing him Apostolic Nuncio in the Indies.

The perils that attended the long navigation from Lisbon to Goa are illustrated by the fact that the passengers were in the habit of providing themselves with a winding-sheet, 'in order that their bodies might be committed to the waves, in case of their death, with some appearance of Christian decency.'*

During this six months' journey, in the motley company of soldiers, merchants, and adventurers among whom he found himself, the full beauty of St. Francis's sweet and ardent nature shone with unwonted lustre. He mixed freely with his fellow-passengers, nursing the sick, comforting the sorrowful; and, by the influence of his dignified yet winning manner, he succeeded by degrees in establishing habits of piety and virtue, even among those whose lawless spirits seemed at first incapable of all restraint. The ship touched at the island of Mozambique five months after its departure from Portugal, and the Governor of India, Don Martin de Sousa, who was on board, resolved to remain there during the winter, as the large number of sick persons on board made it difficult to continue the voyage. Francis spent his time in the hospitals, and on Sundays he used to preach before the governor and a large audience. 'By the favour of God,' he says in a letter to Rome, 'we spent these six months greatly to the satisfaction of all, and with much spiritual profit.'

* *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, F. Coleridge, S.J., vol. i. p. 109.

The journey from Mozambique to Goa lasted two months, and on the way the vessel stopped for a few days at Melinda, a Mussulman city, where many Portuguese merchants were buried. Over their graves rose a large stone cross, which St. Francis saluted with great joy. 'It seemed,' he wrote, 'like the might of the Cross appearing victorious in the midst of the dominion of the unbelievers.' Another halt was made at Socotra, where the natives, though rude and ignorant, called themselves Christians, and professed a religion in which truth and error were strangely mixed. They received the saint's instructions with such docility and eagerness that his loving heart was touched, and he begged to be left among these poor abandoned people. But the governor refused to give him the desired permission, and assured him that in India he would find thousands who were still more in need of spiritual assistance.

At length, on the 6th of May 1542, after a voyage of more than a year, the vessel reached India, and St. Francis Xavier landed at Goa, and began that series of wonderful spiritual conquests which extended over vast empires, and gained whole nations to the knowledge of Christ.

The same year the Pope gave the members of the new Order in Europe a striking proof of confidence, by intrusting to them an important and perilous mission. Henry VIII. of England had now completely separated from the Church; and his Irish subjects, who remained true to the ancient faith, were cruelly oppressed and persecuted. Father Paschase Brouët and Father Alphonsus Salmeron were named Legates of the Holy See, and received instructions to proceed to Ireland for the purpose of encouraging and consoling its suffering people; on their way they were to visit James V. of Scotland, and strengthen him in his allegiance to Rome.

In spite of the dignities with which they were invested, the Jesuit Legates started on foot, without money or provisions, in the same manner as they had travelled from Paris to Venice in the early days of the Institute. They reached Scotland in 1542, and, having delivered the Pope's message to King James, they crossed to Ireland, where their mission was fraught with

difficulty and danger. A price had been set on their heads, and they had to wander from place to place at night, and in disguise. But their hardships were fully compensated by the comfort that their presence brought to the persecuted Catholics, who realised the fact that at Rome the common Father felt their sufferings and prized their constancy. Wherever the two Jesuits passed hearts were strengthened, consciences set at rest, doubts solved, fears dispelled, and fainting spirits fortified to bear the Cross. In thirty-four days they passed through the whole island, after which they were recalled by the Pope; and when travelling back through France in their usual fashion, on foot and begging their way, they were imprisoned at Lyons on the charge of being Spanish spies in the pay of Charles V., who was then at war with France.

Happily, however, the Cardinals de Tournon and Gaddi were then in the town and recognised the two Jesuits; they immediately procured their release, and treated them with the honours due to envoys of the Holy See.

Besides the official instructions that Brouët and Salmeron had received from the Pope before starting on their mission, St. Ignatius gave them written directions for their private guidance, and these show in a remarkable degree his knowledge of the world. 'I recommend you,' he says, 'to be with men in general, but especially with your equals and inferiors, sober and prudent in your words, but always ready and patient to listen. . . . . After having studied the character and disposition of each person, endeavour to conform yourselves to them, as far as your duty permits: for instance, when you are dealing with one whose temper is quick and ardent, shake off all irritating slowness; and, on the contrary, adopt a somewhat slow and measured tone, if those with whom you converse are themselves deliberate and measured in their words. If he who has to deal with an irritable man is himself irritable, there is much reason to fear that, should their opinions differ, they may both be carried away by their angry feelings. Therefore, let him who detects in his heart this tendency to irritability watch over himself with most vigilant care, and strengthen his

soul, so that anger may not surprise him. Rather let him bear quietly all that he has to suffer from his companion, even should the latter be his inferior.' Throughout these instructions St. Ignatius remembers that he is addressing two men bent on the same mission, but with widely different characters. Father Paschase Brouët was calm and of an angelic sweetness of temper, while Father Salmeron was younger and more ardent and impetuous. Ignatius goes on thus: 'When dealing with persons who are sad and depressed, show them, as far as you can, a calm and cheerful countenance; put still more gentleness into your words, so as to lead them back to a more tranquil state. Not only in your sermons, but also in your private conversations, never forget that your words may be made public, and that what you say in secret may be manifested in the light of day. . . . . As to money, do not even touch that which is due for the dispensations that you grant; let it be distributed to the poor by other hands than yours, or employed in good works, so that if necessary you may be able to take your oath that you have not received a penny throughout the course of your mission.'

While Brouët and Salmeron were returning from their perilous undertaking, Rodriguez, in Portugal, was employed in the foundation of the College of Coimbra, which afterwards became so justly celebrated; and Peter Favre, who had preached with great success throughout Northern Italy, was opposing the progress of heresy in Germany. Less brilliant than Francis Xavier, the eldest son of St. Ignatius was a man of wonderful piety and innocence, and of a humility that bordered on diffidence; but, prompted by his love of God and guided by his spiritual father's wisdom, the gentle and humble peasant became one of the greatest apostles of the Order of Jesus.

At Parma, where he preached in 1539, he obtained many conversions by means of the Spiritual Exercises, and was particularly successful in promoting the practice of frequent Communion. In October 1540, Paul III. sent him to the Diet of Worms, at the request of Pedro Ortiz, who was proceeding

thither himself as ambassador of the emperor. Like all the public conferences, which, chiefly at the instigation of Charles V., took place at this period between the Catholics and Protestants, the Diet of Worms had the effect of encouraging the latter, who found themselves treated as equals, and became more imperious in their demands; but, on the other hand, it opened a vast field to the apostolic zeal of the Jesuit missionary. At Worms, at Spires, and at Ratisbon he gave the Spiritual Exercises to the bishops, electors, princes, and ambassadors who were there assembled, while at the same time he struggled almost single-handed against the so-called Reformers. The laxity of the German clergy was so great that, on some occasions, far from seconding, they rather impeded his efforts. He writes mournfully to his brethren in Rome: 'Would to God that there were in this city of Worms even three priests unsullied by grievous crimes, and filled with a little zeal for the salvation of souls!'

Although Father Favre's holy life and earnest words worked wonders, it was to Claude Le Jay more especially that was committed the task of reforming the lives of the clergy, a task in which he succeeded in spite of immense opposition. Once he was told that he should be thrown into the Danube, at which he replied, smiling: 'It matters little to me whether I go to heaven by land or by water.'

So great was the impression produced by Le Jay's zeal, activity, and theological learning, that Ferdinand, King of the Romans, with a view of securing his constant presence in his States, named him to the bishopric of Trieste. On being informed of this, the Jesuit's first impulse was to address himself direct to the king, to refuse a dignity from which he was excluded by his vows, and also to write to St. Ignatius begging to be saved from the threatened honour. But in the mean time Ferdinand had implored the Pope to exert his authority in favour of his wishes, and his request was favourably received at Rome. After some difficulty St. Ignatius succeeded in obtaining the delay of the nomination; and a little later he sent Ferdinand a solemn appeal, entreating him 'by the Blood

of our Lord, and by the salvation of souls,' not to destroy the new Order by forcing on its children the dignities they had forsworn. The king yielded, but not without regret, and the next year we find him again unsuccessfully pressing upon Bobadilla the bishopric of Trent. Like Favre and Le Jay, Bobadilla had been sent to labour in Germany, where, at that time, the needs of the Church were greatest. He, too, was an able controversialist; but his mission lay among battle-fields as well as in learned assemblies, and he was attached as chaplain to the army commanded by Octavius Farnese against the Duke of Saxony. At the battle of Muhlberg (1547), although grievously wounded, he was to be seen, pale and covered with blood, going to and fro, giving absolution to the dying; and a few days later, forgetting his own sufferings, he preached at Augsburg and at Passau.

With all his charity and devotion, Bobadilla was naturally of an uncompromising and impetuous character; and when, in 1548, Charles V. published his Interim, a decree by which certain concessions were granted to Protestants, he opposed it, both by word and writing, as being contrary to the spirit of the Church. The emperor's indignation knew no bounds, and Bobadilla, banished from Germany, returned to Rome, where he expected to meet with complete approbation, as the Pope was known to be opposed to the Interim. But St. Ignatius, though none could be more attached than he to the cause of truth, judged that the extreme violence with which Bobadilla had attacked the emperor deserved a reproof, and during a certain time he forbade him to enter the house of the Society.

While these events were passing in Germany the Society of Jesus was making rapid progress in its founder's native land, where bishops, princes, and nobles vied with each other in welcoming its members. We have seen with what success Blessed Peter Favre laboured for the faith among the German heretics. In 1541 he was sent to Spain for the first time, and we are told how, during his long and frequent wanderings, he was in the habit of invoking the guardian angels of the different places at which he stopped, and of saluting Jesus Christ in all

the wayside churches and chapels; and how also, as he passed through the fields and vineyards, he would pray for their fertility. His road lay through Savoy, and he made a short halt at his native village of Villaret, where the veneration he excited was so great, that crowds of people followed him as he went from one mountain hamlet to another, and everywhere his passage was marked by striking miracles. During this first visit to Spain Father Favre preached at Madrid, Saragossa, Medina, Siguenza, Alcala, and, as in the case of Xavier and of St. Ignatius himself, love for little children was one of his characteristics, and he excelled in teaching them the truths of religion. In 1542 he was sent back to Germany by the Pope, who was alarmed at the progress of the heretics; and in October he arrived at Spires, where, in the first instance, his presence excited some disturbance among the clergy, who were unwilling to abandon their life of ease and pleasure. By degrees, however, the Jesuit's gentleness and perseverance worked a complete reform, and when he left the town a regularity and fervour, hitherto unknown, had been reëstablished among the priests. At Mayence, his next station, he gave public explanations of the Gospel, which were attended by crowds of people from every part of the Rhenish provinces, and which brought many Lutherans into the Church. Among those who came to hear him was a young student of the Cologne University, Peter Canisius, born at Nimeguen in 1521, and who, at the age of twenty-four, was the pride of the university. Struck by the eloquence and earnestness of the preacher, Canisius sought his acquaintance, and, after making the Spiritual Exercises under his direction, he entered the Society of Jesus, where he was destined to do a great work for the faith in Germany.

Father Favre's apostolic labours were interrupted in 1544, when he was sent to Portugal at the request of King John III., who wished him to be the spiritual director of his daughter Mary, the intended bride of Philip of Spain. After visiting the newly-founded College of Coimbra, and gaining to the Society Nuñez Baretto, the future Patriarch of Ethiopia, Father Favre proceeded to Valladolid, then the residence of the Court. He

was accompanied by Father Antonio de Araoz, a Spaniard of great holiness nearly related to the family of Loyola, and who had joined the Order as early as 1539. Among the first members of the Society of Jesus, Father Araoz holds a place of no small importance. He was remarkable for his eloquence, zeal, and self-denial; but perhaps his special characteristic was an extraordinary gift for the guidance of those whom their exalted rank exposed to greater temptations of worldliness and pride. In the course of the thirty-four years he spent in the Order his austere teaching trained many souls to perfection at the Court of Spain. Sister Francisca of Jesus, the daughter of St. Francis Borgia, and the Princesses Juana and Mary, sisters of Philip II., were among his spiritual children; and so great was the esteem in which he was held that many useless efforts were made to induce him to accept the archbishopric of Toledo.

Although attached to the household of Mary of Portugal, and treated with great honour by her and by her husband Prince Philip, the two fathers lodged at the hospital of the town, and employed their time not only in giving the Spiritual Exercises to many nobles of the Court, but also in nursing the sick, visiting the poor, and teaching little children the elements of religion. Several remarkable conversions rewarded their zeal; and Father Favre wrote to his brethren that their success seemed to him a reward for the patience with which their father St. Ignatius had formerly suffered many crosses and humiliations in this very province of Castile.

Assisted by the many friends he had made Father Favre founded a house of the Society at Valladolid; his great helper in this undertaking was Doña Leonora Mascareñas, governess of the infant Prince Don Carlos. She was a constant correspondent of St. Ignatius, and so devoted a friend to his Institute that she was commonly called the mother of the Society in Spain.

At Madrid the holy Jesuit's labours were as successful as at Valladolid; but the time was drawing near when he was to reap the reward of his arduous apostolate. The Council of

Trent was on the point of assembling, and St. Ignatius summoned Favre to Rome, where he was to join Laynez and Salmeron, and accompany them to Trent. He started at once, leaving Father Araoz in Spain, at the express desire of Philip II., and arrived in Rome in July 1546. His health was already much enfeebled; and the long journey in the intense heat of summer brought on an attack of sickness from which he could not rally. A few days after his arrival he died in the arms of St. Ignatius, whose paternal heart was filled with sorrow as he gave back to God his first disciple.

When Blessed Peter Favre passed to his rest the Society lost one of its holiest members; but he left behind him a countless host of spiritual children whom he had gained to God or trained in the path of perfection. Among these two especially were destined to render great services to the Church and to their Institute. The first was the young student of the Cologne University already mentioned, Peter Canisius, who was so early remarkable for his brilliant talents, clear and solid judgment, and theological learning. When only twenty-five he was sent on an embassy to Charles V. on behalf of the Catholics of Cologne, who were oppressed and persecuted by their apostate Archbishop Hermann de Weiden. The second was of a very different character; no university student, but a Spanish nobleman of royal descent, and bearing an historic name. From his youth upwards Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, had given a bright example of virtue at the Court of Spain; but, on the death of his wife, he resolved to serve God in a yet more perfect manner; and, having made the Spiritual Exercises under Father Favre, he decided to enter the Society of Jesus. However, by the advice of St. Ignatius, he remained in the world a few years longer, until he had provided for his numerous family; and it was not till 1550 that he was admitted into the Order. Meantime he employed the great influence he possessed in working to extend the Society throughout Spain; and in 1546, with the assistance of Father Favre, then starting for Rome, he founded in his ducal town of Gandia the first college of the Order.

St. Ignatius, who regarded the education of youth as one of the principal objects of his Institute, regulated with the greatest care all the details of this college, which, at the request of its founder, was subsequently erected into a university, enjoying the same privileges as Salamanca and Alcala. About the same time Jesuit colleges were also established at Messina, Naples, Palermo, and in other towns.

The importance attached by St. Ignatius to solid learning is shown by the care with which he provided for the intellectual formation of the young religious of the Society. There were as yet no schools belonging to the Order where they could pursue their studies, and therefore, according to the custom of the day, they were sent to the most celebrated universities in Europe. The account of some of these journeys, besides being in itself deeply interesting, has an additional value, inasmuch as it gives an insight into the system of St. Ignatius in the training of his novices, and also a touching picture of the brotherly affection existing among them.

Thus in 1542 seven scholastics, among whom were Ribadeneira and Antonio Criminale, the first martyr of the Society, left Rome for Paris and Coimbra. The Father General had given them rules to be observed on the journey. They were to travel on foot, living on such alms as they could collect, and always lodging in hospitals. Those who were not priests were to communicate every Sunday or oftener; on the way they were to pray and converse on pious subjects; and the youngest and weakest among them was to regulate their pace, the length of each day's walk, and the amount of time allowed for repose. Strict injunctions were given that if any fell ill on the road the others should remain with him for a few days; and then, if the sickness threatened to be a long one, that the most prudent of the little band should stay behind with the invalid, while the others proceeded on their journey.

Ribadeneira was only fifteen when he left Rome. It had been a great sacrifice to him to take leave of St. Ignatius; and though the discipline of the last two years had somewhat tamed his petulance he was still in many respects a thoughtless child.

For instance, when the little band of travellers stopped at Viterbo he went to visit the church attached to the hospital where they lodged; and after having carefully inspected the altars and chapels he climbed into the pulpit to examine its decorations. Whether it was from simplicity or malice the sacristan rang the bell, and announced that a sermon was to be preached immediately. Gradually the church filled with people from the neighbourhood, and Ribadeneira, bringing his investigations to a speedy conclusion, descended from the pulpit to make room for the expected preacher, but was informed that he himself was the orator whom all had come to hear. At first he was somewhat dismayed; but it was not in his nature to be at a loss for an expedient, and, ascending the pulpit again, he delivered with great animation the sermon on the Blessed Sacrament which, according to the custom of the Society, he had preached in the fathers' refectory before leaving Rome. He had returned to his cell at the hospital, glad to have extricated himself from the dilemma into which his curiosity had led him, when an elderly man entered, and informed him that, after having been kept away for many years from the Sacraments by his desire to kill one who had injured him, he was completely changed by the sermon he had just heard, and ready to renounce his sinful project. Ribadeneira, surprised and delighted, led him to one of the other fathers, who was a priest, and heard his confession.

At Avignon the little band to which Ribadeneira belonged separated, and while some proceeded to Coimbra he and another scholastic named Diaz went on to Paris, where sixteen students of the Society were already living at the Collége des Lombards, under the direction of Father Jerome Domenech. Shortly afterwards Francis I. expelled from France all the subjects of the Emperor Charles V., and the little community had to disperse. Ribadeneira, with some others, among whom were Emiliano of Loyola,* nephew to St. Ignatius, and Andrew

* Emiliano or Milan of Loyola was the son of Don Martin Garcia, elder brother of St. Ignatius, and joined the Society in Rome in 1541. He was a youth of rare promise, full of activity and zeal, and he subse-

Oviedo, the future Patriarch of Ethiopia, went to Louvain under the guidance of Father Domenech, and followed the classes of the celebrated university, where they gave much edification by their piety and diligence.

But the perils and hardships which he had gone through seem to have told upon Ribadeneira, who was only sixteen; and he grew so melancholy that Father Domenech, when summoned to Rome by St. Ignatius, offered to take him as his companion. The boy eagerly accepted the offer, and the mere thought of seeing his beloved father almost dispelled his depression. On account of the war between Germany and France they could not pass through the latter country, and this much increased the perils and hardships of the journey. They started in February 1543—Father Domenech, Ribadeneira, and another Jesuit, Father Delz—and their road lay at first through a bleak and thinly-populated country, where, more than once, in spite of the encouragements of his Superior, Ribadeneira fell down from exhaustion, exclaiming, 'I am dying of hunger!' At Mayence the travellers were tenderly welcomed by Blessed Peter Favre, who burst into tears when he saw the pale and wan face of the boy, whom he remembered so full of life and spirits. He washed his feet himself and took care of him for four days, after which the journey was resumed. Father Favre was desirous of keeping Ribadeneira with him, but the boy was too eager to see St. Ignatius again; and so, with much love and regret, Blessed Peter Favre bade him adieu. On parting, he gave to Father Domenech some money he had collected for them in the town, and to Ribadeneira a little cloak, bidding him at the same time offer up to our Lord his joys and sorrows alike. In crossing the Tyrolese Alps the travellers were in great danger; surprised by a violent snowstorm, they missed the track, and wandered hopelessly among frightful ravines

quently proved of great assistance to Father Araoz at the newly-founded house of Alcala. But his spirit seems to have exceeded his strength: he fell very ill, and died at Caravaña, near Alcala, in the flower of youth, the first of the Order to die in Spain. His portrait is preserved in Rome (*Vidas de algunos claros varones quipuzcoanos de le Compañia de Jesus*, par Padre Ramon Garcia).

and precipices. Father Domenech's swollen and bleeding feet could hardly support him, but the sufferings of his young companion occupied all his thoughts, and he constantly exclaimed, 'Poor child!'

At last the track was found, and the wanderers reached Trent, where Father Laynez affectionately welcomed them. Like Peter Favre, he wished to detain Ribadeneira, and promised to take him to Rome later; but again the boy refused, and after a short rest the three travellers proceeded on their way. At Ravenna, Father Domenech, who had neglected his own sufferings, fell dangerously ill; they had no money left, and there was no room for them in the hospital; so, while Father Delz remained to nurse his Superior, Ribadeneira was sent on to Rome to ask for help, but, before leaving Ravenna, he was obliged to sell the little cloak given to him by Blessed Peter Favre. He at length reached Ancona, and there met Father Mendoza, a Spaniard, and three young Italian fathers, who were on their way to found the College of Padua. They gave him some money, which was very welcome, as he was obliged to fast, being unable to collect sufficient alms to purchase food. At Tolentino he fell in with Father Brouët and Father Salmeron, who were preaching to the inhabitants; they both gave him all the help they could collect; and Ribadeneira, now feeling rich, gave away half his little fortune to a destitute fellow-traveller, and reached Rome, with fifteen sous in his pocket, on the 20th April 1543. It was early in the morning, and St. Ignatius was vesting for Mass, when the young traveller, so pale and thin that he was hardly to be recognised, reached the house of the Society, and, going straight into the sacristy, was lovingly welcomed by his holy father. On hearing of Father Domenech's illness the saint bade the Father Procurator send him immediately all the money in the house, even though the community should have to fast in consequence; and Father Ugoletti was despatched to Ravenna. But already Father Brouët and Father Salmeron had joined the invalid, who, miraculously restored to health, was now on his way to Rome.

It has been seen a few pages back that St. Ignatius destined Blessed Peter Favre to take part in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, to which several of his brethren had already been sent by the Pope, when a premature death carried the holy missionary to his reward. Luther, at the time of his rebellion, had appealed to a future General Assembly of the Church; and a few years later Clement VII. announced to the world that the long-wished-for Council, which the necessities of religion urgently demanded, was at length to assemble, and he summoned the Protestants to keep their promise of abiding by its decision.

The war that broke out between Charles V. and Francis I. caused the further postponement of the Council, and it was not till the 13th December 1545 that it was solemnly opened in the cathedral of Trent, under the pontificate of Paul III. The Society of Jesus had been founded but a few years, yet three of its members were chosen to take part in the deliberations. Claude Le Jay was sent to represent Otho Truchses; the Cardinal Archbishop of Augsburg and Laynez and Salmeron were named by the Pope to be theologians of the Holy See.

St. Ignatius seems to have been more dismayed than dazzled by this extraordinary mark of confidence. Laynez was only thirty-four, and Salmeron three years younger; and though both had been carefully trained in learning and sanctity, they were very young for the responsibility laid upon them. The instructions given to them by the General reveal, in the same way as his advice to the Nuncios in Ireland, his practical wisdom and fatherly thoughtfulness: 'In the Council be slow rather than prompt to speak, deliberate and charitable in your opinions; listen with calmness and attention, endeavouring to grasp the spirit, intention, and desires of those who speak, so that you may know when to speak yourselves, and when to be silent. . . . If the subjects under discussion render it necessary for you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and tranquillity. . . . Be persuaded of one thing—that, in order to treat worthily the important questions of human and divine science,

it is necessary to discuss them with due calmness and deliberation, and not hurriedly and superficially.'

But while teaching his sons their duties as representatives of the Holy See, St. Ignatius exhorts them not to allow the importance of these external claims to interfere with their inner life of meditation and penance, nor with those humble works of zeal to which they had been trained. 'Outside the Council omit no opportunity of serving your neighbour; seek for opportunities to hear confessions, to preach, to give the Exercises; instruct children, and visit the poor in the hospitals, so that by works of humility and charity you may draw down the Holy Spirit with greater abundance on the fathers of the Council. . . . Visit the hospitals each in turn every four days, at hours that are convenient to the sick; console them in their sufferings, not only by your words, but also, if you can do so, by bringing them little presents. . . . Remember, above all, to preserve between yourselves the closest and most perfect union of thought and judgment. Let none amongst you trust to his own prudence, and as in a few days Claude Le Jay will join you, fix an hour every day for deliberating together about what you have done during the past day, and what you have to do the next. . . . In the morning consult each other how to act, and examine your consciences twice in the day.'

The three Jesuits faithfully carried out the saint's instructions. In the midst of this brilliant assembly, where there were thirty-six ambassadors, eleven archbishops, sixty-nine bishops, six mitred abbots, seven generals of religious orders, and over eighty theologians and doctors of different congregations, they appeared in their well-worn cassocks, and with the modest and humble bearing so recommended by St. Ignatius. The time that remained when the deliberations were over was spent among the hospitals, or in teaching the children of the poor. Indeed, their poverty was so great that some of the bishops took umbrage, and complained that it was wanting in respect towards the Holy See that its theologians should appear in old and worn-out garments; and the fathers were obliged to buy new cassocks, which, as Father Bouhours takes

care to inform us, they always laid aside when the sittings of the Council were over.

It was a difficult part that the Jesuits had to play, and their dignity as theologians to the Pope gave them a position of peculiar responsibility and importance. Not only had they to refute the errors of the German heretics, but, what was more difficult and delicate, they had to touch upon the abuses that had crept into the discipline of the Church, abuses of which many of the prelates and abbots present were not wholly innocent.

Ere long, however, the three fathers proved that by their erudition, eloquence, and prudence they were fully equal to their important mission. Salmeron and Le Jay's discourses on grace excited general admiration, while the mere appearance of Laynez caused a hush of reverent attention. In the presence of this slight pale man, young in years, but aged by austerities and labour, the most learned assembly in the world bowed down with enthusiasm and wonder. One day especially, when the subject under discussion was the Blessed Sacrament, Laynez prefaced his speech by the following declaration: 'As the dogmas of faith can only be defined from the Scriptures and the fathers, I will support my opinion by quotations only from authors whose entire works I have read, and from whom I have extracted the passages proving beyond all doubt the opinion of the writer.'* And in the course of his speech he quoted, one after another, thirty-six fathers or doctors of the Church, and among them Alphonsus Tostatus, whose works are so numerous that it would appear that a lifetime was barely sufficient to read them through. Laynez, however, had studied them so thoroughly, and developed their opinions so clearly, that all the theologians present unanimously accepted his decision on the question under debate.

The esteem in which he was held by the Council is shown in many other circumstances. While the orators in general were very seldom permitted to speak for one whole hour, an exception was made in his favour, and he was allowed three

* *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. i. p. 214.

hours, as it was found that his keen and ardent mind grasped the most complicated questions, and explained them with unerring superiority and promptitude. It was he also who was charged to recapitulate the discussions in writing, and his commentaries were inserted word for word in the acts of the Council; as his voice was weak an elevated place was specially reserved for him, where he might be heard by all present. And later on, when the civil war between Charles V. and the Protestants necessitated the suspension of the Council, St. Ignatius recalled Laynez to Italy; whereupon Santa Croce, the Papal Legate, wrote to request that he might be left at Trent, as to him had been given the important labour of preparing the questions for the next session. And yet the man who was capable of such stupendous intellectual exertion was no cloistered student, but one whose life had been spent in active works, and who had constantly to struggle against a weak constitution and much physical suffering. In one instance, when he was attacked by a violent fever during the Council, its solemn deliberations were suspended till he was restored to health.

As may be supposed, the unflagging zeal and the success of the sons of St. Ignatius excited the anger of the Protestants and infidels, and the works of the apostate monk, Paolo Sarpi, are an expression of the feelings with which the enemies of Rome regarded the new-born Institute that had risen to fight her battles. 'Nothing is more essential than to ruin the influence of the Jesuits; in ruining them we shall ruin Rome; and if Rome is lost, religion will reform itself.'*

Several attempts were made to introduce heresy into the heart of the Society by those who dreaded its influence. Thus, even in the lifetime of St. Ignatius, a man named Michael of Calabria, a heretic at heart, contrived to be admitted into the novitiate, his seeming modesty and fervour having deceived the fathers. By degrees he endeavoured to insinuate his errors into the mind of Father Oliver Manare, to whose care he was

* Life of Paolo Sarpi, in the translation of his *History of the Council of Trent*, by Le Courrayer, an apostate priest, 1736 (London edition).

committed; but his heretical opinions were speedily unmasked, and he was ignominiously expelled.

Another time two large cases of books were sent to the Jesuit house at Venice by some unknown person; the upper volumes were orthodox, but below were the works of Melancthon, Luther, and the like, all of which were, by order of St. Ignatius, instantly burnt.

These and similar attempts failed in their object, and no stain of heresy ever rested on the banner of the Order of Jesus, a banner which, in after years, was more than once drenched in the blood of its faithful soldiers who fell in the defence of Catholic truth.

CHAPTER V.

Death of St. Ignatius.

THE prayer of St. Ignatius, that persecutions might never be wanting to his children, was granted even in these early days. Not only was the Society attacked, as was natural, by the heretics of Germany, but even among Catholics in France and in Spain it encountered violent opposition. In the latter country the warm welcome given to its members by bishops, princes, priests, and people did not secure them from the attacks of a Dominican preacher, Melchior Canus, who, after having accused of heresy Bartholomew Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, one of the most eminent Catholic theologians of the day, turned his blind animosity against the Jesuits. He declared from the pulpit that they were the precursors of Antichrist; published a pamphlet, in which St. Ignatius was called presumptuous and narrow-minded, and Laynez and Salmeron denounced as idiots; and finally declared that all the members of the Order were heretics and schismatics at heart. However, Melchior Canus's invectives were solemnly disowned by the whole Dominican Order, who gave the Jesuits public marks of esteem and affection.

Although the protest of the General of the Dominicans and the moderate conduct of the Jesuits themselves did much to allay the storm, yet the attacks of the fiery preacher found an echo in various parts of Spain, particularly at Saragossa, where the popularity of the fathers excited the jealousy of the secular clergy.

In France the Jesuits, though protected by the king, were regarded by the parliament and university with suspicion and dislike; the latter especially considered them as formidable rivals, on account of the success with which, in other countries, they had devoted themselves to the education of youth, and

for this reason was disposed strongly to oppose their establishment in the kingdom; while some of the French Bishops were equally alarmed at the privileges possessed by the fathers for the administration of the Sacraments. When Henry II., after an examination of the Constitutions of the Order, having found in them nothing dangerous, either to the Church or to the State, issued letters patent authorizing the Jesuits to settle in France, the parliament obstinately refused to sanction the royal permission. Shortly afterwards the Sorbonne embodied the different grievances brought against the Society in an Act of Accusation, drawn up by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, and dated December 1, 1554. In this document the fathers were charged with insubordination to ecclesiastical and royal authority, with alluring religious away from other orders, with encouraging schism, divisions, and jealousy, &c. Unfortunately, Eustache de Bellay, Archbishop of Paris, in consequence of a personal difference with the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Jesuits' great protector in France, sided with the Sorbonne, and forbade the fathers to exercise any priestly function in his diocese. The Jesuits in Rome were anxious to reply to the falsehoods published against their Institute in Paris; but St. Ignatius enjoined silence, saying, with truth, that so exaggerated an attack carried with it no weight. His prudent reticence was rewarded the following year: four of the chief doctors of the University of Paris came to Rome with the Cardinal of Lorraine; and the saint, thinking this a favourable opportunity for correcting their mistakes with regard to his Order, obtained a public conference, in which Fathers Laynez, Polancus, Olave, and Frusius replied to the accusations published by the Sorbonne. After hearing these explanations, the doctors confessed that they had judged the Society without possessing sufficient knowledge of its real Constitutions and spirit; they returned filled with admiration for St. Ignatius and his Order, and their retractation of their past accusations produced in France a powerful reaction in favour of the Jesuits.

In spite, however, of the public retractation of the four

doctors, some years passed before the Society succeeded in founding a college in Paris, where it was greatly needed. The university, once so justly celebrated, and where so many illustrious and holy men had been trained, had fallen away from its ancient splendour at the end of the sixteenth century. Discipline had grown lax; political passions and disorderly habits had caused both the studies and morals of the school to degenerate, and the abuses that reigned in it, especially the strange indifference shown by its members to the rapid progress of heresy in the kingdom, had struck St. Ignatius. Hence came his great desire to establish a college of his Order in Paris.

While these events were passing in Europe, Francis Xavier was extending the reign of Christ through the vast territories of India and Japan. Nothing can be imagined more sad, and, humanly speaking, more hopeless, than the state of Goa when St. Francis landed there on the 6th of May 1542. The Indians were plunged in the grossest and most barbarous paganism; while their Portuguese conquerors, by their vices, injustice, and cruelty, inspired the natives with hatred and contempt for the Christian religion.

The saint began his apostolate by attending the sick in the hospital, where he took up his abode, and by instructing little children, whom he used to gather round him as he passed along the streets, and who, under his guidance, became themselves missionaries of the faith. By degrees his patience and sweetness, his earnestness and eloquence, produced the desired effect, and at the end of six months Goa was transformed. Crowds surrounded the confessionals; and we find St. Francis writing to Rome that, 'if it had been possible for him to be in ten places at once, he should not have wanted for employment.'*

From Goa he went to the Paravas or pearl-fishers, who inhabited a barren district beyond Cape Comorin; and here again prodigies of grace attended his footsteps. At times he had such numbers of persons to baptize that he could hardly raise his arm from sheer fatigue; yet he undauntedly pursued

* *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, F. Coleridge, S.J.

his way, going from one village to another instructing, hearing confessions, assisting the dying. And all through these long journeys his food consisted of a little rice and water, and he never slept for more than three hours at a time.

Perhaps one of the most touching episodes in the wondrous history of Xavier's missionary life is when, on his return to Goa, he heard that the Badages, a fierce and bloodthirsty people, had invaded the Paravas villages. Those of the inhabitants who escaped had fled to the rocky islets along the coast, and were suffering the horrors of starvation under the scorching sun. He immediately started for the coast with twenty ships laden with provisions, which he had obtained from the Portuguese authorities; and great indeed was the joy of the poor Indians in welcoming the beloved father, who could not rest till he had relieved their sufferings. Travancore, a district extending thirty leagues along the shores of the Indian Sea, was the next scene of Xavier's apostolic labours. Here God bestowed upon him for the first time the gift of tongues; here also he performed some of his most striking miracles, and, in five different cases, he raised the dead to life. At the end of a short time forty-five Christian churches were built in Travancore; and Francis wrote home to entreat that labourers might be sent out to reap this abundant harvest.

In 1545 we find the 'great father,' as he was called, at Meliapore, evangelising this city, which was as corrupt as Goa had been at the time of his first arrival; and afterwards he rested from his labours by visiting the neighbouring hill, where the Apostle St. Thomas had suffered martyrdom.

It would occupy too much space to relate the touching incidents and extraordinary miracles that everywhere marked his passage, and have elicited the admiration of Protestants and even of sceptics and infidels.* 'My pen,' says the Calvinist Baldeus, in his *History of India*, 'is not capable of expressing the worth of so great a man.'

He next visited Malacca, the island of Amboyna, Ternate, and the Isle del Moro. This latter island was inhabited by

* Sir James Stephens, K.C.B., *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography.*

cannibals, who had lately massacred a great number of Portuguese; and on this account Francis had been repeatedly warned not to land there. But fear of death was never able to detain his steps when there was a hope of gaining souls to Christ—more than once, indeed, his life was saved only by miracle. But his courage and perseverance were at length rewarded by the conversion of almost the entire island. Crosses and churches sprang up as if by magic in every town and village; and Xavier, in his gratitude, surnamed the Isle del Moro 'Divina Esperança,' the land of Divine Hope.

In 1547 we find the indefatigable apostle again in Malacca. It was during this visit, on the 4th of January 1548, that, when preaching in the great church of the town, he suddenly stopped, and announced to his awe-stricken listeners that at that very instant a great naval battle was taking place between the Saracens from the island of Sumatra and the Portuguese fleet, and that the latter was victorious. Soon afterwards the Christian vessels returned, and it was found that the engagement had taken place at the very time and with the result made known by the saint. In the same month of January, as he was sailing from Malacca to Cochin, Xavier performed another of his most celebrated miracles, when, by invoking the Holy Trinity, he stilled a furious storm that threatened to destroy the vessel. In a letter written to his brethren in Rome, he relates that, in the midst of this frightful tempest, he took for his intercessors with God the living members of the Society, and those who had already passed to their rest, especially Peter Favre, for whom he professed a deep veneration.

After visiting once more his beloved Paravas children, who welcomed him with transports of joy, he settled various affairs relating to the Society in India, and stationed two or three fathers in the different towns and kingdoms where he had planted the Cross. Having thus provided for the welfare of his converts and for the further extension of the Gospel, he carried out a project long meditated and desired, and, in spite of the entreaties of his friends, sailed for Japan, a country discovered by the Portuguese two years before, but where as yet

they possessed no authority, and where Christianity was unknown. From a human point of view, it truly seemed as if Francis Xavier was attempting an enterprise beyond his power to accomplish; as, besides the shoals and rocks that rendered the approach to the Japanese coast peculiarly perilous, and the navigation of which was as yet imperfectly known, the people were described as intelligent and polished indeed, but more cruel and merciless than even the ferocious islanders whom the gentleness of Francis had conquered.

However, on the 15th of August 1549—an anniversary which, to the first fathers of the Society, was full of touching recollections—Xavier, with two companions, Fathers Cosmo de Torres and John Fernandez, and a young Japanese named Paul, who acted as their guide, landed at Cangoxima. At the end of forty days, with a facility that special grace alone could produce, he was able to explain the chief truths of religion in Japanese, and the numberless miracles attending his words carried conviction into the hearts of his hearers.

This portion of the life of Xavier possesses a thrilling interest; but in a general sketch like this we must not linger over the beautiful history of his apostleship in Japan. It is sufficient to state that in the space of two years and two months, at the cost of intense fatigue and undaunted perseverance, he established colonies of fervent Christians in the petty kingdoms of Cangoxima, Firando, Amanguchi, and Bungo; and many of the bonzes or priests, some of the native princes, a number of generals, nobles, and statesmen, as well as thousands of the lower classes, joyfully embraced the faith of Christ. The subsequent history of the Church in Japan, with its long records of heroic deeds, sufficiently proves on what solid foundations St. Francis had built his work.

In November 1551, Xavier sailed for India. He was never destined to revisit the flourishing Church he had founded; but one of the last acts of his life was to send a body of missionaries to reap the harvest he had sown in Japan. In February 1552 he landed at Goa, and great must have been his joy to find that the good he had formerly effected had proved perma-

nent, and that the town continued to offer a bright example of regularity and devotion. Throughout the Indian peninsula Christianity was making extraordinary and ever-increasing progress, and among the nation of the Paravas, where Father Anthony Criminale had just suffered martyrdom, there were over 500,000 Christians all ready to lay down their lives for Christ. After appointing Father Gaspar Barzeus Rector of the College of Santa Fé, at Goa, and providing for the spiritual welfare of his Christian children throughout the peninsula and the adjacent islands, Xavier embarked again, resolved this time to plant the Cross in China, though his friends assured him that all strangers were forbidden to enter that empire under pain of death. On his way he stopped at Malacca, where the plague was raging, and devoted himself to the sick and dying; but neither his devotion nor the miracles that attended his steps could touch the heart of the governor, Don Alvarez d'Atayda, a grasping and unprincipled man, who obstinately refused to allow him to pursue his journey. The real cause of this opposition was D'Atayda's jealousy of James Pereira, a rich merchant, who was the chief helper of St. Francis in his heroic enterprise, and also his fear lest the expedition should injure the interests of trade. At length, finding no vessel that would convey him to China, the saint embarked in the Santa Cruz for the little island of Sancian, a desolate rock lying off the Chinese coast, from which he hoped to reach the land of his desires. It was here that repose from his labours awaited the faithful servant, who had toiled so unceasingly in his Master's vineyard. Soon after his arrival Francis was attacked by a violent fever, and in a few days was at the point of death. Strange to say, neglect and ingratitude attended the deathbed of the great apostle, whom myriads of souls throughout Asia recognised and loved as their spiritual father, and by whom whole nations and kingdoms had been gained to Christ. He who had followed so closely his Master's footsteps in life was destined in death to drink His chalice, and to suffer like Him the desertion and ingratitude of friends. A few days before, the saint had changed salt water into fresh for the relief of the

crew of the Santa Cruz; and now these same men, in order to curry favour with the Governor d'Atayda, abandoned the dying apostle on a sandy hillock, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and to the equally painful blasts of the cold night air. In this state, alone, tightly holding his crucifix, and repeating in his delirium his favourite ejaculation, '*Deus meus et omnia*,' he was discovered by a Chinese lay-brother named Antonio, and a Portuguese merchant, Alvarez, who had just landed at Sancian. These two carried him to a little hut belonging to the merchant, and watched by his side, till on Friday, the 2d of December 1552, with a radiant look, and uttering the words, '*In Te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum*,' he sweetly expired at the age of forty-six.

'His name, his virtues, his miracles, the multitude of his journeys, the fruits of his preaching in the East, the public and domestic favours that his intercession with God obtained so often, were recalled to the memory of all. The coasts he had evangelized, the worlds he had visited, the deserts where he had pursued the Indians, in order to give them, through the Cross, a foretaste of civilisation; the islands where he had laboured, and where the missionaries who followed him had shed their blood,—all these populations, unknown to each other, united in a common feeling of earthly mourning and holy joy. They wept over a father, whom death had taken from them, and invoked the holy protector, who from heaven watched over their welfare. From all the kingdoms conquered by Xavier came testimonies to his memory. His remains, brought back in triumph, were surrounded with veneration; crowds flocked to see them pass; the flags of every nation paid them homage on the seas; even the Mahometan ambassadors of the Great Mogul came to bow down before this incorrupt body. Long after the Jesuit's death the vessels that passed in sight of Sancian hoisted their flags and saluted with their artillery the shore where the Apostle of India had breathed his last sigh.'*

One of the most touching traits in the beautiful character of Francis Xavier is the intimate and filial confidence that ever

* *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. i. p. 200.

united him to St. Ignatius, and that neither time nor distance could diminish; of this the letters that passed between them give a striking and admirable proof. His love for the Society of Jesus was no less intense, and it was with the most entire confidence that he commended himself and his labours to the prayers of its members. Thus he writes: 'It has often happened that God has made known to me by an interior instinct how many bodily dangers and occasions of spiritual loss have been prevented by the prayers and holy sacrifices of my brothers, partly those who are still militant upon earth, partly those who are already enjoying the rewards of heaven;' then he goes on: 'When once I begin to speak or write of our Society I know not how to stop, but the haste of the ships to depart obliges me against my will to leave off and close my letter. I cannot finish better than by making that old declaration—"If ever I forget thee, O Society of Jesus, may my right hand be given to oblivion, so clearly have I seen how much I owe to my brethren, and on how many accounts I am their debtor."'

It is interesting to note the deep feeling of loving veneration that continued to surround the name and memory of St. Francis Xavier. We shall see, in later times, that the pagan inhabitants of India revered him almost as a divinity. To his own brethren, who, following in his footsteps, continued his labour of love in Asia, his example was ever present; and the lonely little island of Sancian, where he had breathed his last, became a favourite place of pilgrimage for the Jesuit missionaries of China and Japan. There, at the outset of their arduous undertaking, they would come and pray that his brave and gentle spirit might descend upon those who were chosen to complete the work he had so gloriously begun. In the fearful storms and tempests that frequently threatened to destroy the vessels sailing along these perilous and treacherous coasts his name was always invoked with entire confidence, and never in vain.

While the members of his Order were fighting for Christ in many lands the holy General remained in Rome, his calm clear intellect directing their efforts from afar, and his fatherly

heart sympathising with their difficulties and rejoicing in the work they were doing for God.

Besides Francis Xavier, whom he gave to India at the very origin of his Institute, and who, among the countless host of Jesuit missionaries, from that day to this, will ever have a place of unequalled glory, St. Ignatius sent apostles to Brazil and to Ethiopia. The first started in 1549, and, a little later, several of them gained the palm of martyrdom. Among the fathers sent to Ethiopia, at the request of John, King of Portugal, was Father John Nuñez, who, after much resistance, was obliged to accept the title of Patriarch of Ethiopia, a dignity involving more crosses than honours, and which was therefore sanctioned by St. Ignatius.

Thus far and wide spread the 'Compañia,' and already in the first era of its existence it had received the baptism of blood.

In Europe the Jesuits continued to struggle against the heretics. Claude Le Jay, the reformer of the German clergy, died in 1552, four months before St. Francis Xavier, and the immense influence he possessed was inherited by Peter Canisius, the spiritual son of Blessed Peter Favre, who, like Laynez, took an important part in the deliberations of the Council of Trent. Canisius was for some time attached to the newly-founded College of Messina, and was afterwards appointed Rector of the University of Ingolstadt, where his talents as a controversialist and a theologian shed so great a lustre that in the archives of the town is still to be found the tribute of admiration paid to the 'incomparable Canisius.'* From Ingolstadt he was transferred to Vienna, at the request of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and it was there that he composed his Catechism, which, in a concise form, sets forth the principal truths of religion. This book was a powerful weapon in the hands of Catholic controversialists; it has been approved by Popes and Bishops, translated into every European language, and has gone through five hundred editions. The archbishopric of Vienna was earnestly pressed upon Canisius by

* *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. i. p. 265.

the king, but, as in the cases of Le Jay and Bobadilla, the proffered dignity was energetically declined.

Scarcely less admirable than the important works undertaken and performed by the Society is the spirit of obedience and self-discipline by which it was animated. St. Ignatius knew that the outward influence of his Institute, and its capacity for doing good, depended chiefly on the fidelity of its members to the rules of self-denial that form the basis of religious life, and with fatherly watchfulness he guarded them from the slightest deviation from the path of obedience. A remarkable instance of this appears in the history of Father Laynez, of all the saint's early companions perhaps the richest in gifts of intellect, who, when still so young, had been intrusted by the Holy See with missions of deep importance, and at whose feet the highest ecclesiastical dignities were laid. The Father General having sent Father Paschase Brouët to France, appointed Laynez Provincial of Italy in his place; against which decision the latter earnestly remonstrated, saying that he did not know how to obey, and was therefore unfit to command. Laynez, it seems, judged himself rightly, as the event proved; but St. Ignatius insisted on his taking the government of the province. Shortly afterwards several of the most eminent fathers from Northern Italy having been summoned to Rome, the new Provincial wrote to the Father General to complain that the colleges in the provinces were robbed of their best professors. St. Ignatius replied by stating his reasons, and explained that Rome being the fountain-head, the very centre of the Society, its seat of government, it was necessary that men of wisdom and talent should be sent there. Laynez, not content with this explanation, wrote a second expostulatory letter, on which the saint replied: 'Reflect upon what you have done. Let me know if you recognise that you have committed a fault, and if you judge yourself guilty tell me to what penance you are ready to submit.' Laynez, heart-broken at his own want of submission, which he now clearly recognised, answered thus: 'My father, when your reverence's letter reached me, I began to pray to God, and, after praying with many tears, this

is the resolution which I have adopted. . . . I place and abandon myself entirely in the hands of your reverence, and I hope and beg of you, by the Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in order to punish my sins and to conquer the rebellious passions from which they spring, you will remove me from any office of command, from preaching and from study, and allow me no book but my Breviary; furthermore, that you will summon me to Rome, and let me beg my bread the whole way, and, when there, be employed until my death in the lowest offices in the house. Or, if I am unfit for these, I beg you to command me to spend the rest of my days teaching the elements of grammar. Regard me, I entreat, as one deserving of no esteem and as the scum of the earth.'

Submission so complete satisfied Ignatius. He had vindicated the great law of obedience, the mainspring of his Order, and, far from forbidding Laynez to study, he commanded him, for his penance, to compose a theological treatise against the heretics of Germany. Thus the saint's first companions, though specially beloved, were not spared by him any more than the youngest novice in the house, when the rules and spirit of the Institute were at stake. We have seen how Bobadilla was reprimanded for his violent language against Charles V. Rodriguez was of a very different character: he was a man of great holiness, and possessed the gift of miracles; but his gentleness and indulgence were such that, under his rule, many abuses crept into the College of Coimbra. The General, hearing this, and thinking also that he had been a long time in Portugal, appointed him Provincial of Aragon, and sent Father Miron to Coimbra in his stead. Rodriguez himself submitted to the saint's decision with ready obedience, and lovingly kissed the letter in which it was conveyed to him; but the news created general dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom. The royal family, who were all much attached to Rodriguez, murmured loudly, and John III. even endeavoured to retain him by offering him the archbishopric of Coimbra; while the young Portuguese Jesuits proceeded further, and declared they would obey no one else. The new Superior

was as stern and unyielding as his predecessor had been gentle and indulgent, and his arrival only increased the general discontent. St. Ignatius then wrote to the king and queen, stating his reasons for acting as he had done; he also wrote to Father Miron, exhorting him to temper his natural severity by gentleness; and finally, he sent to Portugal as visitor Father Michael de Torres, Rector of the College of Salamanca, who, to great firmness, united a conciliatory disposition, and by whose prudence all murmurs were gradually appeased.

By a strange reaction the College of Coimbra, where discipline had grown lax under Rodriguez, now fell into the opposite extreme; the students gave themselves up to excessive mortifications; some were worn out by fasting, and others neglected their studies in order to spend the day in contemplation. On this St. Ignatius wrote his epistle on the virtue of obedience, which, though especially addressed to the fathers of Coimbra, did much good throughout the whole Society, and was sent as far as India and Japan. In this wise and well-weighed letter he reminds the students that to watch and pray beyond the time prescribed by the rules is as much a fault against obedience as to indulge in idleness and sloth.

As has been seen, Rodriguez had joyfully acquiesced in the order that removed him from Coimbra; but later on, seeing the troubles and difficulties just related laid to his charge, he was much pained; and to satisfy him the Father General chose several professed fathers of irreproachable virtue and well-known prudence to examine his conduct during the time he had been Provincial. After mature deliberation they expressed their opinion that, through extreme indulgence, he had impaired the regularity of religious discipline; and Rodriguez, whose sensitiveness had now given place to deep humility, heartily recognised that he was to blame for the difficulties that had arisen at Coimbra. He begged to be allowed to expiate his weakness by a public penance; but this St. Ignatius would not allow; he was satisfied with not sending him back to Portugal.

While directing the members of the Society at a distance in the paths of obedience and self-sacrifice, the holy General was

occupied in forming to religious life the novices at the professed house in Rome. He watched over them with paternal care, helping the weak, restraining the impetuous; giving to each the advice and assistance best suited to his disposition and to his wants. No saint was ever less stiff than St. Ignatius. Though a strict disciplinarian and severe, especially on the point of obedience, he varied his treatment according to the different characters with whom he had to deal. Towards beginners he was generally very indulgent. A young man, who had in the world enjoyed a large fortune, entered the novitiate, and brought with him a crucifix and a statue of our Lady, to which he was much attached. The saint made no remark, and allowed him to keep them; but a little later, seeing that the young man made rapid progress in virtue, he said to him: 'Now that the Cross is firmly imprinted in the heart we may take it out of the hand;' and the novice joyfully gave up his crucifix and statue. His conduct towards Father Ribadeneira is another proof of his patience as well as of his sagacity. He alone discerned, under a petulant and thoughtless exterior, those great qualities of mind and heart that were to make Ribadeneira one of the most valuable members of the Society; and, as we have seen, he treated the unruly novice with a patient kindness which, however, did not always exclude severity. On one occasion he said to him: 'Pedro, what is a secretary?' 'A secretary,' quickly replied the boy, 'is one who can keep secrets.' 'Then,' returned St. Ignatius, 'you shall henceforth be my secretary.' And from that time he often gave him letters to copy, which he afterwards looked over with great attention; and many times Ribadeneira's bad writing, crooked lines, and defective orthography drew forth his reproofs. One day, when his secretary had been more than usually careless, St. Ignatius exclaimed: 'This child will never do anything well.' Ribadeneira burst into tears, and, with childish petulance, began to beat himself for having displeased his good father; but from that day he became more careful and diligent. On another occasion, in the refectory, during silence, he made signs to a brother novice as young as himself, to call his attention to one of the elder

fathers, who was then crossing the room. The General, who had observed him, condemned the two delinquents to feed on dry bread and soup for two months, and to eat at the door of the refectory. To another young religious, who was accustomed to speak without reflection, he gave as a penance to perform on foot, and begging his bread the whole way, a pilgrimage that lasted three months. Father James d'Egnia, the saint's confessor, having scandalised some people by his simple enthusiasm when he spoke of his penitent, paid a severe penalty for his indiscretion. Much to the old man's distress, the General chose another confessor, and condemned him, moreover, to take the discipline while reciting a certain number of psalms.

Notwithstanding this severity, no Superior was ever more beloved than the soldier-saint of Loyola. The fathers who knew him best, and lived with him most constantly, as did Fathers Polancus, Gonzalés, and Ribadeneira, speak with emotion of his tenderness, kindness, and the loving sympathy that he showed to all his children. Zealous as he was for their spiritual progress, he was none the less careful of their bodily health, which he regarded as belonging to God and to the Society; indeed, tenderness for the sick was one of his chief characteristics. One day, the doctor having ordered some very expensive food for a lay-brother, who was dangerously ill, the Father Minister, when told to buy it, remonstrated, and showed the General that he had only three pieces of money left for the support of the whole community; but he was told to spend all on the invalid, who was the first to be considered, as those who were in health ought cheerfully to submit to privations. If any of the religious were bled—a remedy much practised in Italy—St. Ignatius would get up in the night to see that their bandages were not disturbed. And when his failing health obliged him to relinquish other offices, he never gave up his favourite occupation of nursing the sick. At the same time he demanded from those who were ill a perfect resignation to the Divine Will. If any of them showed signs of selfishness or rebellion, he bore with them silently till they recovered, and

then gave them a severe reprimand and penance. Although, as we have seen, he never spared reproofs when needful, and often imposed long penances for comparatively trifling faults, yet, when speaking of his subjects in their absence, he always made use of terms of the highest esteem and consideration, and was scrupulous in never mentioning their faults, except to those to whom it was absolutely necessary that they should be made known. He trusted and esteemed his companions thoroughly, and was very slow to admit any accusations against them.

No less admirable than his power of government was the large-heartedness with which St. Ignatius, while giving to one and all of his children a full share of affectionate solicitude, could turn his attention to works of zeal and charity outside the sphere of his own Institute. No phase of misery escaped his notice; and his influence was felt by people of every age and every condition in Rome. For penitent women he founded the monastery of St. Martha; and for orphan children, whose destitute condition moved him to pity, he collected alms sufficient to build two schools, which till lately existed, under the direction of the Brothers of St. Jerome Emilian. He also established a house of refuge for Jewish neophytes, in whose conversion he took special interest.

But his greatest works were the foundation of the Roman and German Colleges. The first was begun with donations given by different persons, among whom was Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia. The Popes were its great benefactors, and bestowed upon it the privileges of an university. In 1555 it numbered 200 pupils, who came from every part of the world to attend its classes; but it was only completely organised in 1560, and in 1584 the number of its pupils had increased to 2107. The professors were all Jesuits, and men of acknowledged learning and talent; and the classes were attended, not only by Jesuit scholastics, but by the students of fourteen other colleges in Rome. St. Ignatius, who wished the Roman College to be the model of all others, spared no pains to insure its success. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and mathematics were taught

by the best professors. The General himself took a keen interest in the progress of the scholars; and, in order to encourage emulation, he desired that public disputations should take place in the different classes, at which he not only made a point of being present himself, but to which he frequently brought cardinals and other distinguished persons to encourage the young disputants. He also desired that the classes should be opened by public discourses, delivered by the professors, and that at the end of the year the pupils should act plays of literary merit to form their taste and impart a facility for speaking in public.

The brilliant success that crowned the foundation of the Roman College can be estimated, not only by the praises awarded to it by Popes and princes, but still more by the mere mention of some of those who were trained within its walls. Among its pupils were seven Popes: Innocent X., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XII., Clement XI., Innocent XIII., and Clement XII.; and saints like St. Aloysius, Blessed John Berchmans, St. Camillus of Lellis; while its professors were James Ledesma, Suarez, Vasquez, Bellarmine, Cornelius à Lapide, &c.

The German College, also founded by St. Ignatius, was begun in 1553. Moved by the deplorable accounts which were sent to him of the ignorance and immorality of the German clergy, the saint wisely judged that the best means of bringing about a reform was to found a college in Rome, where young German students training for the priesthood might imbibe a truly religious spirit. On their return to their own country these young men, who had drawn the waters of learning and virtue at their fountain-head, would exercise a valuable influence over their brother priests, and prove formidable barriers to the progress of heresy.

At first numberless difficulties appeared to stand in his way. He had neither men nor money to begin the new college; but Pope Julius III. and several cardinals, who warmly approved the plan, subscribed towards its accomplishment; and the Pope promised to give a certain yearly sum.

The college was inaugurated on the 28th of October 1552. Father Ribadeneira, who was one of the first professors, pronounced the opening speech in the midst of a brilliant assembly; and very soon numerous pupils flocked to attend the classes, which were placed under the direction of the Jesuits.

The Duke of Bavaria, the King of the Romans, and the succeeding Popes were the chief protectors of the new establishment, which was enriched with numerous privileges; and the anger of the Protestants at its success proved that they also fully appreciated the services it was destined to render to religion. It is impossible to estimate the whole extent of the good effected by these German students, who, on their return to their fatherland with the precious lessons learnt at Rome, shed around them the light of knowledge, and the bright example of all priestly virtues.

Two centuries later, 24 cardinals, 1 Pope, 6 Electors of the Holy Empire, 19 princes, 21 archbishops, 221 bishops, and countless priests and martyrs were numbered on the roll of the German College, where to this day the memory of Ignatius is gratefully cherished. Besides the inscription on his altar, 'Sancto Ignatio, Societatis Jesu fundatori, Collegium Germanicum auctori suo posuit,' there is a touching custom that when, on the eve of his feast, the holy founder's name is read out from the *Martyrologium* in the refectory, all the students rise and bare their heads, as a homage of respect and gratitude.

Besides these important works, St. Ignatius was in constant correspondence with the Kings of Portugal and Spain; with the Dukes of Bavaria and Ferrara; and with Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V. He was continually called upon to advise on matters connected with affairs of state; but these occupations never interfered with his duties as head of the Society; and the troubles or imperfections of the youngest novice were more important, in his eyes, than the weighty matters on which crowned heads wrote to consult him.

After following Ignatius through the different phases of his long and eventful life, we love to linger over the descriptions given of him at the close of his career, and to contrast them

with the picture of the impetuous soldier who, in bygone days, defied the French on the walls of Pampeluna. Except the slight lameness, which always remained, there is little to identify the General of the Society of Jesus with the Don Ignacio of the past.

By nature of a vigorous and robust constitution, he had become enfeebled by austerities and labours rather than by age, and so thoroughly had a constant habit of self-control subdued his high-spirited and ardent character, that he was generally thought to be of a naturally cold and phlegmatic disposition. Father Bartoli tells us that his eyes were very beautiful, and had an expression at once gentle and energetic; his forehead was high, his complexion dark; no man, according to Father Gonzalves and Father Polancus, had a bearing so noble and dignified, or was so popular with persons of every rank and most opposite characters. His interior life had undergone a far greater transformation, and we can understand the pious curiosity that made his children beg him to write an account of the different phases through which his soul had passed. For a long time he refused; but towards the end of his life he dictated to Father Gonzalves a simple narrative of all that had happened to him from the moment of his conversion to the year 1543, and after his death a paper was found, recording a few of the wonderful graces he had received. This solitary fragment escaped destruction when he burnt all the papers relating to his interior life.

To the end of his career, we find St. Ignatius faithful to the simple practices of charity and devotion which he had adopted in the early days of his conversion. Almost the first lesson he taught his spiritual children was to examine themselves daily, and with particular care upon the fault to which they were most liable. He attached great importance to this practice, and to the end of his life he continued to impose upon himself a slight penance each time he detected himself in the fault which he had chosen for the matter of special examination. Catechising poor children was another of the saint's favourite works and one he never gave up. When General of the Society, he used

often to take his boy-novice Ribadeneira as his companion when he visited any of the shrines in Rome or its neighbourhood, or went on any errand of charity and zeal. The novice, as we have seen, was on very familiar and loving terms with his good father, and used to talk to him as they went along with unreserved confidence and frankness. Having remarked that when the saint taught catechism to poor children his language was often incorrect and mixed with foreign idioms and ungrammatical expressions, Ribadeneira told him so. 'I was then very young,' he says, relating this incident, 'and I feared that this inaccurate way of speaking might prevent the fruit of his discourses, and disgust his audience. One day I told him that it appeared to me he ought to pay more attention to the correctness of his language, and endeavour to express what he meant to say in better terms. "That is not a bad idea, Pedro," he replied, with his usual modesty and gentleness, "and I beg of you in future to mark down all the faults I make when speaking Italian; then tell me of them all exactly, that I may correct myself." I wished to begin on the morrow,' continues Ribadeneira, 'and I began to write down all the foreign and ungrammatical words of which he made use; but very soon I had to lay down my pen, being unable to keep up with him; out of a hundred words that he said, there were not two that were really Italian and faultless. The following day, he asked me to tell him what I had remarked, and I told him frankly what had happened. Then, with a gracious and smiling countenance, he said, "Pedro, what then shall we do for God?" As though he meant to say: "The gift of languages and the gift of eloquence, like all other talents and perfections possessed by men, come from God; if then it has not pleased Him to bestow more of them upon me than what you see, why should I not employ willingly in this holy service the little He has given me, as much as if He had made me the most eloquent man in the world?"'

In spite of the incorrectness that grated on the fastidious ear of the former page, Ribadeneira himself tells us that the exhortations of St. Ignatius were so devout, fervent, and full of

zeal, that they moved even the greatest sinners to repentance, and sent them to confession. He adds that the holy General preached not only by his words, but also by his beaming and earnest countenance, which seemed at times transfigured by divine love.

Gratitude towards his benefactors is another of the special characteristics of our saint; his constant and grateful affection for Doña Inez Pascual has been already seen. Another Spanish lady, Doña Mencia de Benevente, who had assisted him at Alcala, fell, some years afterwards, into great poverty. From Rome, St. Ignatius wrote to Father Francis de Villanova, rector of the newly-founded house of the Society at Alcala, and bade him spare no efforts to assist his former benefactress. The fathers were themselves in such poverty that they had barely food enough to keep them alive, and, as they possessed no coverings for their beds, they were obliged to sleep in their habits. However, every day, each one put aside part of his scanty allowance, and the united portions were carried to Doña Mencia.

Simple and solid as were his practices of devotion and the piety he taught his disciples, yet few saints ever penetrated deeper than St. Ignatius into the mysteries of the spiritual life. The intimate communications and special lights that were granted to him at Manresa continued all through his life, and his biographers tell us of his long and frequent ecstasies, when, raised from the ground, and his face transfigured with a celestial radiance, he remained for hours absorbed in the contemplation of God's infinite perfections. After reading of these wondrous graces, that carried his favoured soul beyond the limits of our earthly sphere and illumined it with floods of heavenly light, we love to return to the simple details which, with filial tenderness, St. Ignatius's contemporaries have handed down to complete his picture. They tell us that he was fond of music and flowers, as reminding him of God's goodness and beauty; that the *Imitation of Christ* was his favourite book, and in any necessity he opened it at hazard, saying that he always came upon the passage best suited to its needs. Father Gonzalves

adds, so constant had been his study of this holy book, that he seemed to be the *Imitation of Christ* in action.

But the time was drawing near when the soldier of Jesus Christ was to pass to his reward. Well and faithfully had he redeemed the promise made years before, when, rising from his sick-bed at Loyola, he had devoted himself body and soul to the service of his Lord. Now, all that he most desired on earth was accomplished; the Institute had been solemnly approved by Rome, the Exercises too had received the sanction of the Holy See, and the Constitutions were enforced in all the houses of the newly-founded Order.

As he felt his infirmities increasing, he thought it right to propose to the fathers to resign his charge as General; and after a deliberation of three days it was agreed that Father Jerome Natalis, a religious of great talent and holiness, should assist him in the exterior affairs of the Institute. St. Ignatius, however, insisted on reserving for himself the care of the sick, saying that God had sent him so many infirmities in order that he might feel compassion for those who were ill, and sympathize in all their sufferings.

No amount of bodily pain could slacken for one moment his devotion to the watchword of his long career, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam.' Not very long before his death, he heard that the young men of Macerata were going to act a play of more than doubtful morality during the Carnival, and that in consequence the fathers of the Society exposed the Blessed Sacrament during three days, and the people, attracted by the new devotion, gave up the play and flocked to the church. The saint was so pleased with this inspiration that he ordered the devotion of the Quarant' Ore to take place at that time in all the houses of the Society, and from them the practice has extended to the whole Church.

At the end of July 1556 his weakness increased, but he spoke little of his sufferings, and the doctors apprehended no immediate danger. However, he received Holy Communion with angelic devotion; and two days later, in the evening of the 30th, he called to him Father Polancus, his secretary, and bade

him go to the Pope, Paul IV., to request a blessing for him, as he was soon going to die. He seemed calm, and had been conversing with the fathers with all his usual cheerfulness; so that Father Polancus imagined there was no pressing danger, and asked whether he might put it off till the next day. St. Ignatius gently answered, 'Do as you think best;' and that same evening he spoke to several fathers on business matters, and appeared perfectly clear and self-possessed.

But the next morning, when his sons came to his room, he was in his last agony; and Father Polancus, bitterly regretting his delay, hurried off to the Holy Father, who sent the dying saint his blessing with much love and many tears. A few minutes afterwards, between five and six in the morning, St. Ignatius raised his eyes and hands to heaven, and, with the Holy Name of Jesus on his lips, calmly breathed his last. He was sixty-five years of age.

Crowds collected to venerate the remains of the great founder of the Society of Jesus, and a Roman lady was delivered from a disease, pronounced to be incurable, by touching an object that had belonged to him. Till the evening of the 1st of August the body was exposed to the loving homage of thousands; it was then buried in the church of the Society, Santa Maria della Strada. In 1568 it was transferred from its first resting-place to another part of the church, in presence of St. Francis Borgia, who then governed the Order; and nineteen years later, on the 19th of November 1587, the General, Claudius Aquaviva, caused it to be solemnly removed to the principal chapel of the newly-built church of the Gesù. Here it was laid under a marble tomb, bearing this inscription, which, in its brevity, fitly sums up the life of the saint, 'Ignatio, Societatis Jesu fundatori.' It is said that during this ceremony, which took place in the presence of the General and of the principal fathers of the Order, bright stars were observed shining over the holy remains.

From all parts of the world came marks of respect and veneration to the memory of Christ's great servant; we have seen how even during his lifetime his disciples paid him loving

reverence, and death only deepened and hallowed this feeling. St. Francis Xavier was in the habit of reading his letters on his knees, and wore a piece of his writing round his neck as a relic; St. Francis Borgia, Father Laynez, Blessed Charles Spinola, the martyr Father Jerome Natalis, likewise wore his relics. Le Jay and Bobadilla were miraculously cured of dangerous illnesses through his prayers; and the latter, when relating this favour, used to add that his testimony was worth that of two other men, as he did not easily believe in miracles. Father Ribadeneira, the saint's beloved child, left a written document, the veracity of which he attested by oath, giving a full account of his father's acknowledged sanctity. Outside his own Society St. Ignatius was scarcely less revered and loved; his biographers tell us how among his contemporaries, St. Philip Neri, Baronius, and Tarugi, the first Oratorians, the Emperor Ferdinand I., King John III. of Portugal, the Cardinal of Augsburg, and many others publicly proclaimed their veneration for him. Loyola, his cradle, and Manresa and its hitherto lonely cavern, became places of pilgrimage, and at Barcelona his well-worn hair shirt, lovingly preserved by the son of Inez Pascual, worked miracles.

This universal veneration was ratified by the decision of the Church. St. Ignatius was beatified in 1609 by Paul V., and canonised by Gregory XV. on the 12th of March 1622, the same day as St. Philip Neri, St. Teresa, St. Isidore, and his own glorious companion St. Francis Xavier.

CHAPTER VI.

Father James Laynez, Second General of the Society, 1558-1565.

At the time of the death of St. Ignatius the Society of Jesus numbered over one thousand members and one hundred houses, divided among twelve provinces: Portugal, Italy, Upper and Lower Germany, France, Aragon, Castile, Andalusia, India, Ethiopia, and Brazil.

The General Congregation for the election of a new chief was fixed for November 1556, and meanwhile Father James Laynez was appointed Vicar-General of the Society. When St. Ignatius lay on his deathbed, Laynez himself was dangerously ill in Rome, and the physicians had given him up. On hearing that the holy founder had breathed his last, he began to pray fervently that he too might die and be united to his beloved father; but years of labour were still to be his portion, and instead of death came an unexpected and miraculous recovery.

The war that broke out between Philip II. of Spain and the Pope, Paul IV., whom his lawless nephews, Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Palliano, induced to take up arms, obliged the fathers to delay their proposed meeting. The Pope, deceived by a false report that Father Laynez intended to assemble the Congregation in Spain, forbade any of the professed fathers to leave Rome, and caused the Constitutions of the Society to be submitted to a fresh examination. At the same time the Spanish fathers, who were to take part in the election, were prevented by Philip II. from leaving his dominions.

At length, in June 1558, nearly two years after the death of St. Ignatius, peace was declared between the Courts of Spain and Rome, and the General Congregation of the Order of

Jesus was solemnly assembled. Five of the first companions of St. Ignatius, who had knelt by his side in the crypt of the Martyr's Mount, were present in Rome—Laynez, Bobadilla, Salmeron, Rodriguez, and Brouët—and on the 2d of July Father James Laynez was elected General by a considerable majority. It was a grave moment in the annals of the Society, the members of which were for the first time called upon to take an important step without the guidance of their saintly founder; but the spirit of St. Ignatius had descended upon his companions, and the election took place with a disinterestedness and calm that denoted long experience and wisdom, rather than the first effort of a newly-founded Order.

We are already acquainted with the new General, who by his learning, eloquence, wisdom, and religious spirit was well fitted for his responsible position. The esteem entertained for him by Paul IV. was so great that, some years before, the Pope had declared his intention of making him a Cardinal. The dislike with which the project was regarded by St. Ignatius was only equalled by the sorrow of Laynez himself, whose genuine distress and terror excited the astonishment of the Sacred College. At length, however, the Pope was induced to abandon his design.

Strangely enough the first difficulties encountered by the new General in the exercise of his functions came precisely from the Pontiff, who had desired to bestow upon him so remarkable a proof of esteem and confidence.

Soon after the election of Laynez, Paul IV., yielding to influences hostile to the Society, to which at heart he was sincerely attached, signified his desire that the Constitutions should be modified on certain points; for instance, that the General should be elected only for a limited time, and that the fathers should be obliged to recite the office in common. These proposed changes, so directly at variance with the rules laid down by St. Ignatius, caused some dismay in the Order, and, while protesting their obedience to the Holy See, the Jesuits ventured on some humble expostulations. However, seeing that the Pope persisted in his resolution, they obeyed,

and began to recite the office in choir; but the following year Paul IV. died, and on the declaration of the Cardinals that these changes, being merely the result of a personal wish of the Pope, and not of a decision of the Holy See, were no longer binding, the Jesuits returned to their primitive rules.

When the Cardinals assembled to elect the new Pope their thoughts for a moment were fixed on Father Laynez; but, in addition to the barrier that St. Ignatius had erected between his children and ecclesiastical dignities, there existed a custom, having almost the force of law, by which the Sovereign Pontiff was always chosen among the Cardinals, and Cardinal Medici, who took the name of Pius IV., was accordingly elected.

From the first he showed himself favourably disposed towards the Society. Not content with declaring that the personal desire of Paul IV. in no way bound the Jesuits to change their Constitutions, he solemnly revoked all the regulations laid down by his predecessor which were in any way opposed to the primitive rule of St. Ignatius.

The beginning of the reign of the new Pontiff was marked by the public execution in Rome of the two nephews of Paul IV., Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Palliano, and their relatives, Count Allifani and Leonard Cardoni, whose exactions and tyranny had for many years made them objects of hatred and terror to the Roman people. Although they had always shown themselves hostile to the Society, both Caraffa and Palliano when their end drew near sent to Father Laynez to beg that a Jesuit might assist them. Father Perucci was chosen, and spent the night before the execution with the prisoners, who prepared for death by prayer and penance. When led out to die the next morning Palliano gave Father Perucci the crucifix and book he had been using, with these words: 'After my death take them to your General, and bid him remember me.'

While these events were passing in Rome the Society, chiefly through the influence of St. Francis Borgia, was rapidly increasing in Spain. Charles V. had completely abandoned the reins of government to his son, Philip II., and had retired

to the monastery of Yuste, but he still remembered his favourite kinsman and trusted friend of former days. In 1557 he sent for Borgia; and these two men, both of whom had been so rich in earthly power and prosperity, had a long and affectionate interview, during which the imperial recluse endeavoured to persuade St. Francis to share his solitude at Yuste. It needed all the saint's eloquence to convince his master that such a life would be utterly incompatible with the engagements he had made on entering the Order of Jesus; but his refusal in no way cooled the emperor's warm friendship for him, and he left Estremadura with the knowledge that he had given Charles V. a just and complete idea of the Society, with whose rules and spirit he had been till then imperfectly acquainted.

About the same time Father Gonzalves de Camera was called, much against his will, not, indeed, to share the seclusion of a retired sovereign, but to undertake the education of the impetuous and headstrong young King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. He had long refused to accept this heavy responsibility, and only consented when Laynez and Borgia represented to him that the Society owed a tribute of gratitude to the grandson of its great friend and benefactor, John III. Sebastian is the first of the long line of royal pupils trained by the Jesuits, and the letters of Father Gonzalves reveal how, from his earliest youth, the prince's warlike instincts and fiery disposition gave his tutor no small amount of disquietude.

Along with these marks of royal favour, the Jesuits even in Spain were subject to the attacks and calumnies, which always form part of that cross which St. Ignatius desired for his Order. At Seville and at Valladolid they were charged with heresy, and Don Ferdinand de Valdez, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, was obliged publicly to proclaim their innocence; in order further to show his belief in their orthodoxy, he even requested them to take part in the deliberations of the Inquisition, but this the fathers refused. Their enemies, unable to convict them of heresy, then transferred to them all the accusations brought against the Inquisition itself, and St. Francis Borgia, the beloved friend of Charles V., was not

spared more than the least of his brethren. In Venice, likewise, the Society was exposed to a persecution so violent that the matter was carried to Rome. The Patriarch, John Trevisani, was an open enemy of the Jesuits, and under his influence a plot was formed to accuse the fathers before the senate of abusing the power they exercised in the confessional. Pius IV. proved himself on this occasion a true friend to the persecuted Order; in a letter to the Doge and to the senate he refuted the charges brought against its members; at the same time Father Palmio, in an interview with the Doge, successfully cleared several fathers who, through jealousy, had been made special objects of attack. In April and August 1561 the Pope further showed his affection for the Society by two Bulls, conferring various privileges on the Jesuits, among others that of perfect liberty to found new houses, and also the right to give the degrees of Bachelor, Master of Arts, and Doctor to the pupils of their colleges.

In France the Institute had to struggle not only against occasional attacks, but against the systematic opposition which it encountered on the part of the university and parliament from the first hour of its entrance into the kingdom. The state of France at this period was, from a religious point of view, well calculated to sadden the hearts of apostolic men. The heresy of Calvin was spreading its deadly poison far and wide through a country convulsed by civil war. At the head of the Catholic party was nominally the king, but in reality the Prince of Lorraine, while the Prince of Condé and Admiral Coligny led the Huguenots. Catharine of Medici, who governed for her son, strove to steer her course between the contending parties, and by her weak concessions materially injured the cause of religion, and by her deceit added to the general confusion.

It might have been expected that, in presence of the alarming progress of heresy, the parliament of Paris would have gladly welcomed men like the Jesuits, who came ready to devote their lives in defence of the faith, and who asked for nothing save liberty to sacrifice themselves in its service. But even in the parliament Calvin had secret partisans, and it was

impossible to obtain a ratification of the royal decrees in favour of the Society. One of the chief pretexts brought forward by the parliament was that the extensive privileges granted to the Jesuits by the Holy See were dangerous to the peace of the Church and of the kingdom.*

At this crisis the position of the Order in France was rendered more secure by the efforts of Father Laynez, who, in 1561, accompanied the Papal Legate, Cardinal Hippolytus d'Este, to the conference, which took place at Poissy, between the Huguenot leaders and the Catholic theologians. The king, Charles IX., and his mother were present with their Court; the Cardinals de Tournon, de Chatillon, de Guise, de Bourbon, d'Armagnac, the Papal Legate, forty archbishops and bishops, and a number of doctors and canonists represented the Catholic party. On the side of the Protestants were the

* The privileges granted to the Jesuits by the Popes have often, and especially in France, been made a pretext for attacking the Society. In his magnificent pastoral letter, published in 1763, when the Order of Jesus was falling under the blows of its enemies, Monseigneur de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, gives a clear and forcible exposition of these often-discussed privileges. According to him, privileges in themselves are exemptions from the common law, concessions derogating from established customs, and have at all times been accorded by the Popes to different religious orders. The privileges granted to the Jesuits are not of the same nature as those possessed in olden times by the great abbeys and the military orders; they relate solely to the internal welfare of the Society and to the exercise of the sacred ministry. It is certain that the Jesuits never had more privileges than other orders; they even possessed fewer than the Carmelites, Dominicans, Friars Minor, &c. Any one examining the Constitutions of these religious bodies will find that the favours granted to them are far more extensive than those accorded to the Jesuits. The formulas of the Bulls addressed to the Jesuits have likewise been criticised, but they are the same as all the documents of similar import sent from Rome. After proving that the privileges of the Jesuits are fewer and more restricted than those of other orders, Monseigneur de Beaumont goes on to prove with what moderation they were used. St. Francis Xavier, invested by Rome with extraordinary powers, began, on arriving in India, by placing himself with utmost humility at the disposal of the Archbishop of Goa, requesting his permission to use the faculties intrusted to him. After him, all the missionaries of the Society obeyed with the same fidelity the rule in the Constitutions which enjoins them, on arriving in a foreign land, to present themselves to the Bishop, and humbly demand leave to exercise the holy ministry.

King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and many Huguenot ministers, among whom were Theodore Beza and Peter Vermigli, surnamed Peter Martyr, an apostate monk.

The object of the Father General's journey was twofold: first, to insure the free admission of his Order into France, and especially into Paris; secondly, to defend the Catholic faith, and to endeavour to bring to a close an assembly where the Pope foresaw few advantages and many perils for religion.

Henry II. in 1551 and 1553, Francis II. in 1560, had granted the Jesuits letters patent, authorizing them to establish a college in Paris; but these had hitherto been rendered useless by the ill-will of the parliament and university. Laynez now began by laying before the assembled prelates depositions from the chief cities in France, bearing witness to the fathers' purity of life, and to the success they had already obtained in the colleges founded by them in the provinces. The testimonies caused most of the Cardinals to pronounce themselves strongly in favour of an Institute whose value they were now able to appreciate; the only dissenting voice was that of the Bishop of Beauvais, who shortly afterwards apostatized and married.

The efforts of the Father General were crowned with success; and some months later, on the 13th of February 1562, the parliament at length consented to ratify the royal decree by which the Jesuits were authorized to found a college in Paris.

Having provided for the welfare of the Institute committed to his charge, Laynez descended into the arena against the heretics. The former theologian of Trent had not degenerated, and 'he rendered himself admirable to Catholics and formidable to heretics by his rare doctrine.'* The bold apostrophe he addressed to Catharine de Medici, whom he charged with making unlawful concessions to the enemies of religion, drew tears from the wily princess. This having been repeated to

* *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, publiés par le P. A. Carayon, S.J.: Document A, 'L'Université et les Jésuites.' *Etude Hist.*, E. Pontal (Paris, 1877).

Laynez, he replied, 'Catharine is an old acquaintance of mine; she is an admirable actress, but she will not deceive me.' At the same time as, with extraordinary eloquence and logic, he defended the Catholic truth, the Father General demonstrated that these public conferences, like those started in Germany by Charles V., were far more injurious than beneficial to the cause of religion; as the Protestants, to whom perfect liberty was thus granted to expound publicly their doctrines, found themselves treated on a footing of equality, and grew bolder and more exacting in their demands.

The conference of Poissy was broken up on the 14th of October 1561, when the Huguenots refused to sign the profession of faith on the Blessed Eucharist, which both parties had agreed to adopt. Some time afterwards the conferences were resumed at St. Germain-en-Laye, and here again Laynez victoriously defended the teaching of the Church; but soon the reality of the evils he had denounced was experienced, the disastrous effects of these public discussions became manifest, and in February 1562 the assembly at St. Germain was finally dissolved. Throughout these stormy debates the splendid talent of Laynez, as well as his holiness, modesty, and uncompromising frankness, had gained for him universal admiration; and two of the chief Huguenot leaders, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, gave him public marks of respect and esteem.

Although, by the decree of the parliament, the Jesuits were now legally authorized to settle in Paris, they had still to contend with the inveterate animosity of the university, which was chiefly caused by the fact that, while the latter demanded a fee from its scholars, the Jesuits' teaching was gratuitous, and, for this reason alone, likely to be more popular. In 1564, Father Pouce Cogordan, an eminent member of the Society, having, in the name of his brethren, demanded their incorporation into the university, great irritation ensued; an old Jesuit writer says: 'At all the street-corners were placards against us; not a play was written that did not contain a satire upon us. We were not secure even in the streets of the town, where we were

generally attacked, and where they would throw filth after us and load us with insults.'* A few years later we shall see how in this same city, where the Society was only established after long and patient efforts, arose the most flourishing and famous college ever directed by the sons of St. Ignatius. Even in these early days the Order was represented in France by men of singular merit; besides Father Cogordan, whose tact and able management had contributed in great measure to the introduction of his brethren into the kingdom, there was Father Edmund Auger, one of the most zealous of Jesuit missionaries. He was born in 1531, and entered the novitiate at Rome, where his petulance and childish restlessness sorely tried the endurance of the Italian fathers. But, like Ribadeneira, he met with unvaried kindness at the hands of St. Ignatius, who felt that the young novice had noble qualities which time and care would develop and ripen. Like Ribadeneira too, Auger fully justified the holy founder's foresight, and none contributed more than he to oppose the progress of heresy in France. For long years he never ceased to preach the faith throughout the southern provinces; in Languedoc, Auvergne, Dauphiné, he was to be found wherever the efforts of error were greatest. Once, having fallen into the hands of the famous Calvinist leader, the Baron des Ardrets, he was sentenced to die, and was already bound to the stake at which he was to suffer; but he continued to preach with such eloquence and earnestness that the very ministers were touched, and requested that the execution might be delayed. This was granted, and happily the next day the father was delivered by the Catholics of Valence. When the plague, which carried off Father Paschase Brouët, one of St. Ignatius's first companions, broke out in France, Father Auger was at Lyons, where the inhabitants were decimated by the terrible scourge. Night and day he was to be found tending the sick, absolving the dying, and striving to arouse the survivors from the abject terror by which they were paralysed. The magistrates of the city, to prove their gratitude for his heroic devotion, offered him the College

* *Documents inédits.*

of the Holy Trinity, which he accepted in the name of the Society.

Another member of the Order, whom we shall often meet hereafter, was beginning at this period to display his great abilities. Father Anthony Possevinus was born at Mantua in 1634, of humble parentage. From his earliest childhood he showed wonderful facility for acquiring languages, extraordinary powers of memory, and much tact and penetration. His talents attracted general attention and won for him illustrious protectors, who promised him a brilliant and successful career. However, at the age of twenty-five, he entered the Society of Jesus; and shortly afterwards he was sent by the Duke of Savoy, Emmanuel Philibert, to preach the faith in the valleys of Savoy, where Protestantism had spread its errors. So convincing was his eloquence that in one single day he converted thirty-four Protestant ministers. Full of admiration for his missionary's erudition and zeal, the duke wished to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, and only abandoned this project at the earnest prayer of Father Possevinus himself. On leaving Savoy, the able preacher was sent to the south of France, where he shared the labours of Father Auger, to whom he proved a valuable auxiliary.

The Jesuits in Germany were emulating the charity and devotion of their French brethren; when, in 1564, the plague broke out in the Rhine provinces, Father Anthony Winck, the Provincial, distributed the fathers through the different towns where the pestilence was at its height, and there, as at Lyons, they became the best comforters of the people in their hour of need.

Foremost among the labourers for the faith in Germany was Blessed Peter Canisius. In 1564 we find him sent by the Holy See to the Diet of Petrikaw, were Catholics and Protestants were to hold one of those public controversies, which, fruitless as they always proved to the cause of truth, were yet so frequent at that period. Sigismund, King of Poland, was to preside, and it was feared that his naturally vacillating and indolent character might betray him into granting to the Pro-

testants concessions injurious to the Catholic religion; but the determination and eloquence of Canisius upheld the rights of the Church, and even inspired the weak monarch with a show of energy. On his return to Germany, the Jesuit's controversial powers won to the faith Stephen Agricola, the friend and disciple of Melancthon, and he became a fervent Catholic and supporter of the Society of Jesus.

As may be supposed, this remarkable conversion greatly increased the anger of the Protestants towards Father Canisius, who, at this period, wrote thus to the Father General: 'Blessed be the Lord, who wishes to glorify His servants by the hatred which is borne them by the heretics of Poland, Germany, and Bohemia. By means of atrocious calumnies, which they spread against me, they endeavour to rob me of a reputation that I do not seek to defend, and they confer a similar honour on the other fathers. Soon, perhaps, from threats, they will pass to deeds. . . . May Heaven grant that the more they endeavour to injure us the more we may show charity towards them. They are our persecutors, but also our brethren. We must love them for the sake of the love of Jesus Christ, who gave His Blood for them, and also because it may be that they sin merely from ignorance.'

This letter is dated from Augsburg, where the indefatigable apostle was summoned to take part in the deliberations of the Diet, and where the cardinals, princes, and prelates, who formed the assembly, eagerly sought his advice. Cardinal Otho Truchsez, Archbishop of Augsburg, especially valued his knowledge and sanctity, and in an act, by which he gave to the Society the University of Dillingen, he thus expresses himself: 'I have been particularly led to this good work by the intimate union that has bound me for so long a time to Father Peter Canisius, a doctor celebrated for his eminent piety and rare erudition, and for the incredible good that he has done in my city and diocese of Augsburg.' The Holy See likewise proved its appreciation of the Society by intrusting to its members missions of peculiar peril and difficulty. Thus, in 1558, Father Nicholas Gaudan was sent as Papal

Nuncio to Scotland, where the ill-fated Mary Stuart was struggling in the midst of religious and political troubles. Disguised as a pedlar, he penetrated into Edinburgh and obtained an audience with the queen, whom he strengthened in her allegiance to the Church,—an allegiance which remained unshaken to the last, and is among Mary of Scotland's chief claims to the admiration and reverence of Catholics.

Although Pope Pius IV. had always shown himself the friend of the Order of Jesus, there came a moment when it seemed as though the efforts of its foes would succeed in marring this confidence and friendship. As we have seen, the fathers had been accused of heresy in Spain, and of insubordination in France; but these charges had not been considered as deserving a public refutation; both the Pope and the Father General let them pass by in silence, and the affectionate trust of Pius IV. in the Jesuits had in no way been diminished. It was not so, unfortunately, with a charge that touched the Holy Father more personally, and appealed to one of his strongest feelings.

St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, the Pope's nephew, and much beloved by him, had, under the direction of the Jesuit, Father Ribera, embraced a life of great austerity and holiness, and, in consequence, was taxed with exaggeration and fanaticism. The enemies of the Jesuits, in order to turn this report to the disadvantage of the Society, further insinuated that the fathers were endeavouring to monopolize the archbishop's great wealth for the benefit of the Order; and finally, they brought forward the gravest charges of immorality, not only against Father Ribera, but against the whole Society to which he belonged.

Time and research have proved more and more clearly the complete innocence of Father Ribera, and have shown him to have been a man of singular holiness. At a later period, indeed, the Jansenists eagerly repeated the accusations against him; but it was only by adopting their favourite mode of proof, mutilation and suppression of texts, that they succeeded in producing the slightest appearance of a foundation for their

assertions, and St. Charles's historians are unanimous in their testimonies, not only to the holiness of Father Ribera, but also to the constant love shown by the archbishop to the Society of Jesus.*

Pius IV. never for a moment believed the charges of immorality; but he grew alarmed at the report that the Jesuits were seeking to entice into their Order the nephew on whose talents, position, and virtues he had built great hopes. Father Laynez, then recovering from a grave illness, went to the Vatican; and, in order to calm the Pope's fears lest Ribera should make the archbishop a Jesuit, he promised to remove him from Milan. At the same time he proved clearly that the father, instead of urging his penitent to indiscreet fervour, had, on the contrary, endeavoured to moderate his excessive love of penance and austerity. Pius IV., whose credulity had betrayed him into a momentary injustice, hastened to repair publicly his error, and in a Brief addressed to the Emperor Maximilian, and dated September the 29th, 1564, after alluding to the 'libels full of impostures and lies' that had been spread against the Society, he continues: 'We are in despair at seeing thus attacked the reputation of an Order that has served, and still serves, the Church with so much fruit. We have been told that the said libels have been spread, not only in Italy, but also in Germany; and that they have reached your imperial majesty, whom we think it right to inform that, in order to discover and know clearly the truth, we intrusted this affair to some of our brethren of the Sacred College of Cardinals—persons of great weight and gravity—charging them to make a prompt inquiry, and inform themselves carefully of all that has been said against the Order in general, and against certain members of the said Order in particular. . . . After having fulfilled their mission with the utmost diligence, and having discovered the truth, our envoys assure us that all that has been

* 'Nous avons étudié à leur source même les accusations dirigées contre les Jésuites, et nous le déclarons en toute sincerité le Père Ribera est aussi innocent des forfaits qu'on lui impute que St. Charles Borromée lui-mê e' (*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Crétineau-Joly, vol. i. p. 380).

said is false, and the work of the sworn enemies of the Society. . . . We wished to write this to your majesty as much in order to render due homage to truth as to beg your majesty not to put any faith in these impudent falsehoods, published against the Society; and we wished also to beg your majesty, as a just, wise, and Catholic prince, to defend the virtues and innocence of the fathers of this Society.'

Not content with this public homage, which Jansenist historians carefully ignore in their account of the matter, Pius IV. visited the different Jesuit houses in Rome, and intrusted to the direction of the fathers the seminary which he had recently established.

In spite of the many calumnies and falsehoods which were continually heaped upon the members of the Society by their enemies, and of the foolish jealousy with which they were regarded by some portions of the clergy, the Jesuits, when the opportunity offered, never forgot the divine command of returning good for evil; and a strong instance of this is presented in the case of Father Venusti, which occurred towards the close of the government of Father Laynez, and is related by Ribadeneira and Bartoli.

Father Venusti, a Tyrolese, trained by St. Ignatius himself, taught a class at the College of Palermo, and devoted his spare time to preaching in the neighbouring villages. He was subsequently made rector of the newly-founded College of Bivona, also in Sicily, and continued his apostolate among the poor peasants, by whom he was much beloved. There was at that time at Bivona a priest, named Ruggiero, who, under a show of holiness, concealed deep depravity and vice; however, Father Venusti, deceived by his hypocrisy, and moved with compassion by his poverty, obtained for him a place as chaplain, which he soon lost through his unworthiness. Twice he feigned repentance and amendment, and each time was received and assisted by the father, who addressed to him a few words of advice. On the 19th September 1564, as Father Venusti was going to visit some land belonging to the college, outside Bivona, Ruggiero waylaid him, and, while the Jesuit

stopped to speak to him with his usual kindness, struck him three violent blows with a dagger, which he had concealed. He then fled, and it was some time before any passers-by came to the help of the father, who lay bathed in blood, but still alive. When asked if he knew who was his murderer, 'Yes,' he replied; 'but whoever he may be, may God forgive him as I do.' With these words he expired. But his brethren inherited his spirit of loving charity: while the whole country was vowing vengeance against Ruggiero, to whom the crime was immediately attributed, the Jesuits sought to obtain his pardon from the Duke of Medina Celi, Viceroy of Sicily, who absolutely refused to grant it, and ordered strict search to be made for the murderer. However, Father Domenech, the Provincial, and Father Ribadeneira, Visitor of the province, continued their efforts on his behalf, and repeatedly entreated that the pursuit might cease. Ruggiero wandered about from one hiding-place to another, and at length, worn out with fatigue, not knowing where to turn, and closely pressed by his pursuers, he sought a refuge at the Jesuit College of Bivona.

Severe penalties had been issued against all who should venture to shelter him; nevertheless, the fathers kept him concealed for two days, after which they gave him means to leave the country in safety; and it is pleasant to learn that Ruggiero spent in sincere penance the remainder of a life which he owed to Jesuit charity.

The Father General, who had wept on hearing of the death of Father Venusti, thoroughly approved the conduct of the Jesuits of Bivona, and his letter to Father Ribadeneira on the subject is probably the last he ever penned.

While in Europe the Society of Jesus was thus pursuing its path, steadily working out its glorious motto, and alternately smiled upon and abandoned by popular and royal favour, its members were also extending the kingdom of Christ in distant lands, which they sanctified by their labours, and watered by their blood.

In 1558, the year of the election of Father Laynez, Father

Alphonsus de Castro was martyred in India; and two years later, in the island of Divaran, twelve hundred and seven infidels were converted in one day by Jesuit missionaries. In another island, that of Ormus, where Xavier's disciple, Father Gaspar Barzeus, had planted the faith, Father Mesquita and his neophytes fell into the hands of the ferocious Badages; and while his faithful Christian children were being put to death around him, the missionary, himself grievously wounded, continued to exhort and bless them. In the Celebes Islands, Father Magelhanes baptized the king and fifteen hundred of his subjects; while in Japan, Father Cosmo de Torres and other Jesuits continued the work of St. Francis Xavier, and, amidst sufferings and perils innumerable, established flourishing Christian colleges throughout the vast empire. In Brazil, Father de Nobrega and his companions pursued the apostolate begun in the lifetime of St. Ignatius, and found ample scope for their courage and devotion.

The immense regions of Brazil had been discovered and colonized by the Portuguese, who had established themselves in the most fertile and healthy parts, after driving the original inhabitants into the depths of the vast forests and trackless plains. The missionaries were called upon not only to check the spirit of cruelty and avarice of the European settlers, but also to carry the teaching of Christ to the wild tribes, whose natural ferocity had been increased by oppression and ill-usage. Father Emmanuel de Nobrega, a man of illustrious birth and great energy, ardently longed to be sent on the mission, and great was his joy when, by order of St. Ignatius, Father Rodriguez, Provincial of Portugal, appointed him to sail for Brazil. When the vessel that bore him and his companions arrived in sight of the shores of America he intoned the *Te Deum*, and, raising his hand, he solemnly blessed the land where he was about to labour for Christ. His first care was to endeavour to reform the Portuguese colonists, whose vices were a scandal to the savage inhabitants themselves, and formed an insuperable barrier to the propagation of the truth. Like St. Francis Xavier, he trained little children to be the messengers of the

Gospel, and, like him, he saw extraordinary and numerous conversions reward his efforts. He then set off alone and on foot in search of the native tribes, many of whom were cannibals, addicted to every species of barbarity and vice.

Father de Nobrega was the first Jesuit in America who attempted this arduous task, but his courage and perseverance were crowned with success; at the cost of immense labour he induced thousands of Indians to give up their roving life and to form Christian colonies, where they were gradually trained by the missionaries to habits of industry, piety, and peace. Even in his old age Father de Nobrega continued to visit these beloved converts; always on foot he went from one colony to another, and everywhere he was welcomed by the Indians with demonstrations of tender affection. At length, on the 18th October, the anniversary of his entrance into the Society, he died at the age of seventy, at Rio Janeiro. The day before his death he went to bid adieu to all his friends as if on the eve of a journey, and when they asked him where he was going, he replied, 'Home, to my own country.' He had exercised during twenty years the functions of Provincial for Brazil, and he established numerous residences and colleges throughout that hitherto uncivilized country.*

Under the government of St. Ignatius, as we have seen, Father Nuñez Baretto was, at the request of the Pope, made Patriarch of Ethiopia, a dignity entailing little honour and much suffering. In 1559 the Christians of Ethiopia were cruelly persecuted by the reigning sovereign, Adam Seghed, a determined enemy of the true faith. During this persecution Father Oviedo, who had succeeded Father Baretto as Patriarch, was exiled to a desert, where he was left without food or clothing; but even there he contrived to preach the faith to the poor negroes, by whom he was surrounded. The Pope having written to advise him to return to Europe, if possible, he was obliged to write his reply on the margins of the pages of his Breviary, which he tore off and fastened together: 'Holy Father,' he wrote, 'I know of no way of escape; the Mahome-

* *Vie du P. Nobrega*, Ch. Ste. Foy.

tans surround us on all sides; lately they have killed another of our number, Andrew Guadalmez; but whatever may be the tribulations that surround us, I ardently wish to remain on this ungrateful soil, in order to suffer, and perhaps to die, for Jesus Christ.'

Other members of the Society were evangelizing Congo and Egypt, and in 1556, Father Melchior Nuñez penetrated into China, but was unable to remain. Seven years later three other Jesuits made an equally fruitless attempt; the hour had not yet come when the light of faith was to rise over the vast empire, upon which had rested the last yearning look of St. Francis Xavier. Thus twenty years after its foundation the Society of Jesus had spread itself throughout the globe; and well might Melancthon regretfully exclaim, as he lay on his deathbed in 1560, 'Alas, what is this? I see the whole world being filled with Jesuits!'

On the 19th of January 1565, Father Laynez died in Rome with calmness and joy. Since the day when, as a young university student, he had enrolled himself under the banner of the newly-founded Order, his life had been one long labour for God and for souls; study and fatigue, rather than years, had made him an old man, and, like Nobrega the missionary, the second General of the Society might truly say, 'I am going home to my country, where at least I shall find rest.'

CHAPTER VII.

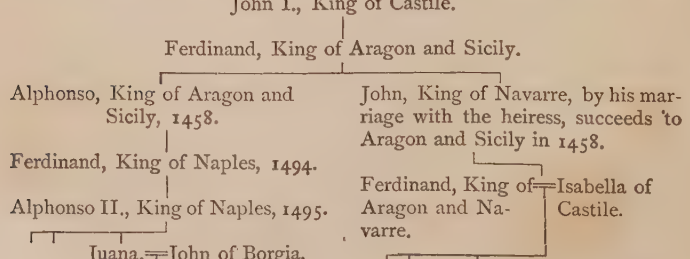
St. Francis Borgia, Third General of the Society, 1565-1572.

In the previous chapters, by the side of St. Ignatius and his first companions, we have seen appear from time to time the grand figure of Francis Borgia, whose example and influence so powerfully contributed to extend the Society in Spain.

Every species of worldly honour and happiness was showered on the childhood and youth of him who, in after years, was to become poor for the sake of Christ. Born in 1510, the descendant of a long line of kings,* he found himself placed from his infancy at the very zenith of temporal prosperity; and he added to his brilliant fortune by his marriage with Doña Leonora de Castro, maid of honour of the Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V.

Renowned throughout Spain for his talents, his personal qualities, his princely fortune, the Duke of Gandia, as he was

* St. Francis Borgia was nearly related to the Emperor Charles V.:


John I., King of Castile.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Sicily.
Alphonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, 1458.
Ferdinand, King of Naples, 1494.
Alphonso II., King of Naples, 1495.
Juana.
John of Borgia, Duke of Gandia, nephew of the King of Aragon.
St. Francis Borgia.
John, King of Navarre, by his marriage with the heiress, succeeds to Aragon and Sicily in 1458.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Navarre.
Isabella of Castile.
Juana.
Philip of Austria.
Charles V.

then called, was treated with special trust and affection by his imperial kinsman, Charles V., who appointed him Viceroy of Catalonia, a post which he filled with great success and ability. Every happiness that earth could give seemed to be poured forth at the feet of Borgia. To worldly honours he united perfect domestic happiness, and in the midst of the almost regal splendour in which he lived his life was singularly pure, and the duties of his position were fulfilled with strict fidelity and care.

It was the sight of the disfigured corpse of the once beautiful Empress Isabel that first drew his thoughts away from the pomps of the world to a higher life of self-sacrifice and devotion, and he then bound himself by a promise that, in the event of his surviving his wife, he would enter some religious order. But when, a few years later, the Duchess of Gandia died other duties remained to be fulfilled, and we have seen how St. Ignatius refused to admit Borgia into the Society until he had provided for the welfare of all his children. When at last he found himself free to follow the bent of his vocation, Francis Borgia joyfully laid down the honours he had borne so worthily. So rapid was his progress in all religious virtues that, on the death of Father Laynez, he was called upon to govern the Order as Vicar-General; and when, a few months later, in July 1565, the fathers assembled in Rome for the election of a General, his name was proclaimed by a considerable majority.

He was then fifty-five years of age, a pale, emaciated, fragile-looking man, very unlike the splendid courtier of other days. Since he had laid his ducal coronet at the feet of St. Ignatius he had five times refused the Roman purple, and now he heard of the new dignity thrust upon him with an irrepressible burst of grief that contrasted with the general rejoicing caused by his election. Pius IV. said to the fathers who came to inform him of the choice that had been made, 'You could have done nothing more useful to the general good of the Church, more advantageous to your Institute, or more agreeable to the Apostolic See;' and in Germany, Cardinal Otho Truchsez, the great friend of the Society, had a solemn *Te*

Deum chanted in his cathedral of Augsburg in honour of the election.

When the reins of government devolved on St. Francis Borgia the Society possessed over 3500 members and 130 houses, divided into eighteen provinces. The General Congregation, having finished the business regarding the election, proceeded to issue several decrees, some relating to matters connected with the stricter practice of poverty; others recommending that special attention should be paid to the work of education, which was looked upon as one of the greatest importance, particularly insisting that as much care should be devoted to improving the already existing colleges as to establishing new ones. A few months after the Society of Jesus had chosen St. Francis Borgia for its head a saint ascended the pontifical throne. Pius IV. died in December 1565, in the arms of his nephew, St. Charles Borromeo, and the following January the Dominican Ghisleri succeeded him under the name of Pius V. A youth spent in poverty and a monastic life of rare holiness had prepared the new Pontiff for his august mission; but although he had always shown himself favourable to the Jesuits, their enemies, whose fertile imagination did not take truth as its groundwork, speedily spread the report that the Institute would be suppressed under his reign.

The chief characteristic of St. Pius V. was perhaps, together with his angelic piety, an uncompromising and enthusiastic zeal for the service of God, and this rendered him peculiarly capable of appreciating men who, like himself, never allowed difficulties or dangers to check their apostolic labours. When he went in solemn procession to St. John Lateran for his enthronement the new Pontiff, in defiance of all established customs, stopped at the Gesù, and, calling for Francis Borgia, embraced him in presence of an immense crowd of spectators, and congratulated him aloud upon the services rendered to the Church by his Institute.

After this striking demonstration, which was calculated to prove the falsehood of the reports that had been current, the Holy Father proceeded on his way, leaving his attendants and

the fathers themselves utterly amazed at this unusual mark of honour.

The trust and affection shown to the Jesuits by St. Pius never changed, and are sufficiently proved by the important tasks which he intrusted to them. Salmeron and, after him, Father Toletus were appointed preachers to the Pope and Cardinals; other Jesuits were employed to translate the Catechism of the Council of Trent; others again were named chaplains to the army or navy, or appointed to second the Bishops in the reforms which the Holy Father set on foot in the different dioceses of his dominions.

For a moment, it is true, Pius V., influenced probably by respect for the memory of Paul IV., his protector and friend, seemed inclined to enforce the modifications in the Constitutions of the Society suggested by that Pontiff some years before. Prepossessed in favour of the practices of his former Dominican life, he expressed a wish that the Jesuits should sing the office in choir. The fathers drew up a memorial, combining, in a remarkable degree, the utmost deference for the Holy See with filial respect for the rules laid down by St. Ignatius; they explained the reasons for which their founder, in spite of his admiration for the choir of religious orders, had dispensed them from singing office together, a practice which he considered incompatible with the active apostolate to which they were especially called. They showed at the same time how, by other rules, he had assigned to all a considerable space for mental prayer, and taken every care that outward labour and active employment should not encroach on their inner and spiritual life. St. Francis himself explained to the Pope the different reasons stated in the memorial. Pius V., fully convinced of their force and wisdom, yielded, and the Constitutions remained untouched. This passing difference of opinion between men, who were equally animated by a sincere and disinterested wish to promote God's glory, cast no shadow over the cordial relations existing between St. Pius and the Society of Jesus. In all cases of sudden and grave emergency the Holy See found ready at hand a body of disciplined and

faithful soldiers, whom a long course of severe training rendered capable of undertaking and accomplishing perilous and important tasks. Thus, in 1566, when the plague broke out in Rome, and thousands of people were carried off by the terrible scourge, St. Francis divided the city into different quarters, which he respectively allotted to his subjects, who here, as in France and Germany, gave themselves up heart and soul to the service of the sick. In return for their heroism, the Pope promised the Jesuits that hereafter, whenever the city was stricken by a similar calamity, they should immediately be employed on the same errand of charity. This engagement entered into by St. Pius with the Society contrasts strangely with the example given by the Calvinists at Geneva a few years before. We still read in the state papers of that town, under the date 5th of June 1543, that the ministers of the reformed religion declared to the magistrates that it was their duty no doubt to attend the inhabitants amongst whom the plague was raging; but, as none of them had courage to do so, they begged the council to pardon their weakness, since God had not given them the grace to brave the peril.* This confession, if it did not speak favourably for the devotion and courage of those who made it, possessed at least the merit of sincerity.

While their Roman brethren were consecrating themselves to the consolation of the plague-stricken the German Jesuits were struggling with undiminished zeal against the deadlier scourge of heresy. Father Canisius especially pursued his arduous labours with unflagging energy; and, while he was hated and reviled by the Protestants, he was regarded by the faithful as their great leader, and honoured by princes and prelates as their father and guide. In an assembly of the nobles of Bohemia one of them, John de Lobkovitz, exclaimed, 'Ah, had the Society of Jesus been established two centuries sooner we should not at the present time know what heresy is!'

In 1565 Canisius was named Legate of the Holy See, and sent to visit the different German courts, chiefly in order to induce the sovereigns to accept the decisions of the Council

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 18.

of Trent, which the Pope desired to enforce without delay. He performed this mission with his usual success, but, faithful to the example of his founder, he travelled on foot from one court to another, accompanied only by a lay-brother. His letters to the Father General, while employed on this laborious enterprise, breathe a spirit of touching simplicity; but the brave apostle felt that his strength was failing at last, and when, after his long journeys on foot, he reached Mayence, we find him writing to St. Francis Borgia: 'I see that my strength is failing, and that I no longer have the same vigour. God's will be done, and may He give us the grace to be children of holy obedience in life and death.'*

Nevertheless, shortly afterwards he was to be found at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1566, defending the rights of the Catholics, a task in which he was assisted by Father Jerome Natalis and Father James Ledesma, two of the most eminent theologians of the Society. On leaving Augsburg he founded the Colleges of Olmütz, Wurzburg, and Wilna; and in 1569 he wrote, by order of the Pope, two books of commentaries on the corruption of the divine word, in reply to the blasphemous pamphlets published, under the name of *Centuries*, by the Protestant ministers of Magdeburg, continuing meanwhile, in spite of the immense studies demanded by this work, to evangelise the towns and villages.

In the midst of the terrible religious warfare that convulsed Germany at this period we love to rest our eyes upon the grand figure of the Jesuit apostle. Simple and obedient as a child, he united the courage of a martyr to the knowledge of a doctor of the Church. Wherever the struggle is hottest between truth and error, and the peril for religion most pressing, he is to be found; sometimes footsore and travel-stained, preaching in vast cathedrals to multitudes, whose vacillating faith grows strong at the sound of his voice; or else seated in the midst of brilliant assemblies of princes and prelates, replying with unerring strength and logic to the sophisms of the so-called Reformers; or again travelling along the high-roads of

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 34.

Germany, preparing himself by silent prayer for the stormy contests amidst which God had cast his fate; often faint and weary, but never disheartened, a true son of the soldier-saint of Loyola.

A decree, issued by the Duke of Bavaria on founding a Jesuit college at Landshut, contains a striking testimony to the services rendered by the German fathers. It runs as follows: 'The holy Society of Jesus having shown itself worthy of our affection by its merits and virtues, we think it just to protect and favour all that can contribute to its advantage and glory; the more so as we are able to appreciate how necessary this Institute is to the Catholic religion. And certainly it is to this Society that Bavaria owes the reëstablishment of the faith of her ancestors, that had been shaken by the calamities of the present times. We love this Society very truly; and we desire nothing so much as to witness the erection of new colleges, and the increase and prosperity of those that are already in existence.'

The great event that marks the pontificate of St. Pius V. is doubtless the contest between the Christians and the Turks, ending in the battle of Lepanto; an episode which, in an era when heresy was rampant and faith had grown weak, appears like a far-off reflection of the spirit of the Crusades.

The Turks, though repulsed by the Knights of Malta, had not lost courage; and the Sultan, Selim II., resolved to take advantage of the intestine struggles by which Europe was torn, in order to extend the Mahometan sway over the fairest countries of Christendom. He began by seizing the island of Cyprus, and was already threatening the Italian coast, when Pius V. made a solemn appeal to all Christian princes, calling upon them to lay aside their petty quarrels and unite against the common foe. To render this appeal more effectual he appointed Cardinal Alexandrini, his nephew, and Cardinal Commendon, Legates of the Holy See, and bade them visit the principal European courts, and exhort the different princes to make common cause against the infidels. The first was to proceed to Spain, Portugal, and France; the second to Germany and Poland. Cardinal Commendon, although an eminent

diplomatist, refused to undertake this embassy unless accompanied by the Jesuit Father Toletus, who accordingly received orders to form part of the deputation. Born at Cordova in 1532, Toletus, when almost a boy, had been professor of philosophy at the University of Salamanca, and had renounced a brilliant worldly career in order to enter the Society. However, his splendid talents could not be concealed by the humility of his new life. He was only thirty-nine years of age when appointed to share the mission confided to Cardinal Commendon, to whom he proved a valuable adviser and auxiliary. Meanwhile the other Legate, Cardinal Alexandrini, requested the Pope to give him, as the companion of his embassy, St. Francis Borgia, whose name was held in such veneration at the Courts of Spain and Portugal. In spite of his failing health, the saint obeyed the Holy Father's commands; and in June 1571 he started from Rome, leaving Father Jerome Natalis Vicar-General of the Order in his absence, and taking with him, as his secretary, Father Polancus, who had already filled that office to St. Ignatius and to Father Laynez.

Since Francis Borgia had last visited his native land, the Society had extended itself considerably; and there, as in other countries, it had paid its usual tribute of suffering and devotion. When, in 1569, Philip II. sent an army and a fleet to subdue the rebellious Moors of Andalusia, we find the Jesuit Father Christopher Rodriguez devoting himself to the galley-slaves of Malaga, where the Christian fleet was then at anchor; while other fathers accompanied the army commanded by Don Juan of Austria. Two years later, in 1571, southern Spain was stricken by a terrible pestilential fever, of which the Moors were the chief victims. The Christians, still exasperated by the cruelties committed by the infidels in their recent rebellion, not only left them to die unassisted, but loaded them with maledictions, and accused them of being the cause of the terrible scourge. Here, as in Rome, the Jesuits consecrated their time and labour to the sick. They especially devoted themselves to the poor outcast infidels; and at Toledo, Alcala, Guadalaxara, and other towns they turned their houses into

hospitals, whither they carried those who had been abandoned to die in the streets. But this heroic charity caused the death of many fathers, among whom was Father John Martinez. He was at Toledo, where the pestilence raged with extreme violence, and where the patients were crowded so close together, that the only way that Father Martinez could hear their confessions was by lying down at their side and approaching his ear to their lips. He died while performing this supreme act of charity; and was found lifeless among those on whose souls he had just pronounced the sacred words of forgiveness. At Cadiz the magistrates, merchants, and even the bishops and priests fled before the plague. Father Bernard, Rector of the Jesuit College, then appealed to the handful of brave men who remained, and, with the help of another Jesuit, Father Sotomayor, of a secular priest named Franco, and a physician, Sebastian Diaz, he provided for the assistance of the sick and dying; but shortly afterwards the two Jesuits fell victims to the disease.

These instances of courageous self-sacrifice were still fresh in the memory of all, when, on the 30th of August 1571, the General of the Society and Cardinal Alexandrini landed at Barcelona. At every step marks of veneration greeted him who, a few years before, had governed as viceroy the kingdom he now traversed in his humble Jesuit garb. Philip II., wishing to honour the friend and kinsman of his father, sent the saint's eldest son, the Duke of Gandia, to meet him. At Valencia his grandson, the Marquis of Lombay, and his other children came to kneel at his feet, and implore his blessing; but St. Francis, deeply troubled at these proofs of reverence, obtained from the Legate leave to pursue his journey, alone and unknown, to Madrid, while the Cardinal followed more at leisure, and received the honours due to the representative of Rome.

The mission of the Papal envoys met with success at the Court of Spain. Philip II. willingly agreed to the project conceived by the Pope. Don Juan of Austria received orders to assemble the Spanish forces; and on the 7th of October 1571

the power of the Turk was utterly crushed at the famous battle of Lepanto, where, under Don Juan, Andrew Doria, the Venetian Admiral Barbarigo, and Mark Anthony Colonna commanded the Christian fleet.

The Order of Jesus had its share in the peril and glory of the day. Many of its members were on board the different vessels, devoting themselves to encourage the living and absolve the dying. With Don Juan himself was Father Christopher Rodriguez, whom we have seen above employed among the galley-slaves of Malaga.

From Madrid, St. Francis proceeded to Lisbon, where his presence proved of the utmost importance; for at that time, against their wish, and by mere force of circumstances, the Portuguese fathers found themselves placed in a position of peculiar difficulty.

A few years before, in 1569, when the pestilence, so prevalent at that period in the southern countries of Europe, had ravaged the kingdom, the scenes enacted in Spain and Italy were witnessed in the streets of Lisbon. The Jesuits were seen hurrying to and fro, bearing in their arms the unhappy sufferers, from whom their nearest relatives, overcome by terror, had fled. Fourteen fathers were carried off by the plague; and the immense popularity that rewarded the courageous devotion of the Society aroused the jealousy of its enemies, who began diligently to plot its ruin.

The prominent position occupied by the Jesuits at court was another source of envy and ill-will. As we have seen in a previous chapter, Father Laynez had ordered Father Gonzalves de Camara to accept the post of tutor to the young King Don Sebastian. It was not the first time that members of the Order had filled the office of advisers to royal personages. Some years previously, in Portugal itself, we find Father Michael de Torres confessor to the Queen-Regent Catharine of Austria; and Father Leo Henriquez to the Cardinal Don Henry, Sebastian's great-uncle. The Duchesses of Ferrara and Tuscany, daughters of the Emperor Ferdinand; Mary of Portugal, wife of Philip II.; the Duchess of Parma; Sigismond, King of Poland;

and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, were likewise under the direction of the Jesuits. These positions of trust had been conferred on the fathers through their reputation for sanctity and wisdom; and were not, as their enemies have asserted, the result of ambitious intrigue. In Portugal especially they shunned rather than sought for one of their Order the position of counsellor to the young monarch. This is sufficiently proved by a letter addressed by Father Laynez to the Queen-Regent Catharine, who ardently desired that her grandson's education should be intrusted to a member of the Society. The original document is still preserved in the Tower del Tombo, in Portugal. After stating that, upon the queen's pressing request, he has decided to send Father Gonzalves to Lisbon, he goes on to say: 'I know, it is true, that this father is a faithful servant of God; that he leads the life of a good religious; that he is experienced in the transaction of business, and well versed in literature; that he does not want either the good-will, or the most sincere devotedness, to do all the good in his power. Nevertheless, as the employment to which your highness calls him is one of the greatest importance, and as I am too ignorant of the qualities that are necessary to fill it worthily, I cannot decide whether this father possesses the requisite qualifications. I therefore humbly entreat your highness to examine the affair in person, and to deliberate upon it after recommending it to Jesus Christ. Your highness will only select Father Gonzalves on ascertaining that such a choice will serve the greater glory of our Lord, your personal satisfaction, and the welfare of the king and his people. . . . Should your highness perceive that another choice would be more conducive to the glory of God, we all beg of you, by the love you bear our Lord, to think no more of Father Gonzalves for this employment. No affliction could be greater than to think that the good to be done has been destroyed or paralysed by one of the Society. He to whom nothing is hidden knows that I do not speak thus for the sake of appearances, but because such are the desires of my heart.'*

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 57.

Don Sebastian of Portugal was born in 1554, and showed from his childhood a generous, capricious, and headstrong disposition. He was passionately fond of warlike enterprises; but his naturally fine impulses were unfortunately not balanced by a solid judgment. His courage degenerated into rashness; his strength of will into obstinacy. Father Gonzalves, a man of austere virtue, won the love and respect of his royal pupil; but he was unable to transform a disposition so impetuous, and whose evil tendencies were encouraged by the flatteries of the courtiers. At best he could only restrain and modify the impulsiveness of the young monarch, for whose faults he was most unjustly made responsible; and, some time after his arrival in Portugal, we find him writing thus to St. Francis Borgia: 'Those who tell the Pope that the king's heart is in my hands, and that I can direct it according to my will, judge Sebastian as they might any other young man of his age; but those who know him well hold a very different opinion.'

When the king was still young, the subject of his marriage was seriously discussed. The Pope advised an alliance with a French princess, while the queen-dowager inclined towards a union with one of her great-nieces, the daughters of the Emperor Maximilian. Sebastian himself seems to have been equally averse to both these proposals; but some years later he asked the hand of an Infanta of Spain, and the negotiations then commenced were cut short by the fatal African expedition, where he lost his life in 1578.

As might be expected, after the untimely death of Sebastian his impetuosity, rashness, and violence of temper were placed to the account of his Jesuit tutor, who would have been expected to change a lion into a lamb. Etienne Pasquier,* a

* Etienne Pasquier, a celebrated lawyer, born in Paris in 1529, died in 1615. He wrote several works on legal subjects and also some poems; but he first became known by his defence of the Paris University in a lawsuit against the Jesuits in 1564. He enjoyed the reputation of being a learned man, but his intense hatred to the Society completely distorted his judgment. His *Catéchisme des Jésuites*, published in 1602, equals, by the grossness of its invectives, the violent language used by Luther. According to him, St. Ignatius was a hypocrite, a glutton, a regicide, and an incarnate devil; St. Francis Xavier a heretic; and the Jesuits in general

French lawyer of the period, with whom hatred to the Jesuits became a perfect mania, went further, and asserted facts utterly ignored by the Spanish and Portuguese historians, who were best qualified to know the truth. Not content with accusing Father Gonzalves with having encouraged, rather than restrained, his pupil's rashness, he maintains, but, as usual, without producing any plausible evidence, that the aim of the Jesuits was to induce the young king to enter their Order, and that, for this purpose, they constantly raised objections to his marriage. Pasquier added, that these charges rested upon the testimonies of Pisani, French ambassador at Lisbon, and of Father Paschase Brouët, one of the first companions of St. Ignatius, both of whom were dead at the time he wrote, and therefore could not either confirm or deny the assertions attributed to them.

The accusations of Pasquier, though in complete contradiction with the Portuguese and Spanish historians, were nevertheless adopted in after times by many of the French Jansenists; some, indeed, in spite of their animosity to the Society, were struck by the blind violence and utter shallowness of arguments used against it. Linguet, a lawyer, and no friend of the Jesuits, thus alludes to Pasquier's calumnies: 'They are so absurd that they do not need a refutation. . . . There is no reply to be made to writers of this description or to those who copy them; we can only pity them.'*

Father Gonzalves' own views on the subject of the king's marriage are expressed in a letter written by him to Cardinal Rusticucci, where he says: 'No one desires more than I do to see the king contract an honourable marriage;' and he farther explains how, in compliance with the desire of the Pope, he has urged the young sovereign to ask for the hand of the French

scorpions, Jews, Judases, &c. He also wrote an exhortation to princes, with a view to proving that it was necessary that they should admit Calvinism in their dominions; and while he accused the Jesuits of immorality he was constantly reprinting his own poems, which were anything but moral. 'In short,' says the author of *Considérations philosophiques et critiques sur la Société des Jésuites* (Versailles, 1817), 'it is honourable for the Jesuits to have been hated by such a man.'

* Linguet, *Histoire impartiale des Jésuites*, vol. ii. p. 154.

Princess Marguerite, sister to Charles IX. When St. Francis Borgia arrived in Portugal, far from seeking to entrap Sebastian into joining the Society, he used all his influence to bring about the desired alliance; but while the king, who was only seventeen, hesitated, Marguerite of Valois had been promised to the King of Navarre, whom Charles IX. deemed it expedient to conciliate.

Another charge, also brought against Father Gonzalves by Pasquier, and which is inconsistent with the first, is that he inspired his royal pupil with an extravagant love for war and adventure. It is clear, from what we are told of Sebastian's turbulent nature, that it must have been no easy task to control and guide him; and Britto, a contemporary historian, relates that his inordinate passion for war was developed by the flatterers who surrounded him. English and French historians, after giving the names of these imprudent counsellors, add, 'that all the Jesuits were opposed to the expedition to Barbary;' and that it was a letter from Father Gonzalves, then on his deathbed, that recalled the young king from his first African campaign in 1574. Sebastian's grief at the loss of his tutor seems to have been deep and bitter; for, in spite of his headstrong nature, he sincerely loved the Jesuit; to those who wondered at his sorrow he replied: 'I never had any father but Father Lewis; and I know too well how much I made him suffer!' Two years later, in 1578, he resolved to attempt another expedition against the Moors of Africa; and on the 4th of August perished at the battle of Alcazar, with the flower of the Portuguese nobility.*

In order not to interrupt the history of the ill-fated Don Sebastian of Portugal we have somewhat overpassed the time when St. Francis Borgia and Cardinal Alexandrini arrived at Lisbon. The presence and advice of the holy General must have strengthened Father Gonzalves in his difficult task, and helped him to bear the unjust reproaches that rewarded his efforts.

* See, in Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. ii. p. 61, &c., the testimonies of the Portuguese historians, all of which are contrary to the assertions of Pasquier.

From Portugal the illustrious travellers proceeded to France; and in January 1572 they arrived at Blois, where Charles IX. held his court. The state of France at this period was one of general anarchy, and, though a hollow peace had been concluded with the Huguenots, it was easy to foresee that ere long war would break out afresh. The saddest feature in the case was the division of the Catholic body; while Catharine de Medici and her weak-minded son were secretly striving to conciliate the Protestants, against whom they professed to wage war, the parliament and the University of Paris, instead of merging their petty jealousies in the great cause of religion, persisted in persecuting the Jesuits, who were the most formidable adversaries of heresy.

Although, after the conference of Poissy, the parliament had unwillingly sanctioned the royal decrees in favour of the establishment of a Jesuit college in Paris, its hostility towards the Society had in no way abated; and its favourite project was to force the fathers to close their classes. This animosity was fully shared by the doctors of the university, who, besides regarding the Jesuits as dangerous rivals in the education of youth, were irritated at the entire devotion professed by them towards the Holy See, a devotion which was wholly contrary to the Gallican teaching that a Council is superior to the Pope. To the disgust of some of its less prejudiced partisans, the university sought the protection of the Protestant Prince of Condé in its feud against the Jesuits; and it may be asserted with truth that in the midst of the learned body itself there were many men, heretics at heart, who fostered their colleagues' spirit of jealousy, and hoped by that means gradually to detach them from the Catholic Church.

It would be too long to enter into the details of the endless vexations by which the enemies of the Jesuits endeavoured to oblige them to close their college in Paris; at one moment eight lawsuits were forced upon them at the same time. Their antagonists were defended by Etienne Pasquier, whose speeches were a tissue of violent and absurd invectives, which bore too clearly the stamp of blind hatred to carry conviction into the

mind of his hearers. At length, in April 1565, the President De Thou, father of the celebrated historian of that name, gave a decision in favour of the Jesuits; and, although stipulating that the affair should be more fully examined at a later period, he, in the mean time, authorized the fathers to continue their classes in Paris. While these events were passing in the capital the missionaries in the provinces, less fettered by petty jealousy and malice, were successfully pursuing their apostolate.

In 1567, Father Oliver Manare, Provincial of France, by a timely warning saved Charles IX. from falling into the hands of the Huguenots, whose plot to seize the royal person he accidentally discovered. In the south, Father Edmund Auger continued his laborious mission; wherever he bent his steps whole populations flocked to hear him; and even Etienne Pasquier, no admirer of the Society, calls him a most distinguished preacher. When at Lyons, Father Auger was secretly informed that the Huguenots had numerous adherents in the city, who, on a certain night, when the great clock of St. Nizier struck twelve, had promised to open the gates to the Protestant army. He informed the governor of the discovery; but there were only a few faithful soldiers in the city; time was short, and the allies of the Huguenots were numerous and powerful within the walls. An open defence being thus almost impossible, Auger had recourse to stratagem. Assembling the watchmakers, he ordered them secretly to stop or to put back the different clocks in the town, especially the great clock of St. Nizier, whose sound at midnight was the preconcerted signal. This was done. Lanone, the Protestant leader, waited in vain for the signal to advance; his partisans within the city were equally puzzled. The inexplicable delay caused general confusion; and at length the Huguenots, seeing that their plot was discovered, and supposing the Catholics were prepared to attack them, fled in confusion to Valence. At the battle of Jarnac, where the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., defeated the army commanded by Coligny and Condé, Father Auger was present, and, in the hottest of the fight, was seen

giving to the dying the last consolations of religion. In the midst of his incessant journeys he still found time to write a book on the duties of Christian soldiers, and to address words of comfort to all who were in trouble. To the inhabitants of Toulouse, who had suffered grievously from the attacks of the Protestants, he sent a long letter of advice and comfort, filled with tenderest charity. A little later, in 1569, we find him leaning over dying soldiers at the battle of Moncontour, where the Duke of Anjou defeated the Calvinists under Coligny.

At length, in 1570, on the 15th of August, peace was concluded between Charles IX. and the Huguenots; but both parties, though exhausted by a protracted and bloody struggle, had lost none of their mutual animosity: the Protestants burned to avenge their last defeats, and the king and his mother were biding their time to strike a great blow.

Such was the state of things when the Legate, accompanied by St. Francis, arrived at Blois, where they were received with great marks of respect; but when Alexandrini proposed to the king that he should join the league between Christian princes, which was desired by the Pope, he was told that all the French forces were needed at home. The other proposition made by the two envoys, that the hand of the king's sister might be given to Sebastian of Portugal, was likewise rejected, as Charles IX. had just betrothed the Princess Marguerite to the young King of Navarre.

Soon after the departure of the Cardinal and of Francis Borgia the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place on the 24th of August 1572; and, strange to say, Protestant and infidel historians, always so ready to incriminate the Order of Jesus, agree that its members remained perfect strangers to this bloody deed, which was a political act of revenge, in which religion had no part.

We have glanced over the state of the Society in Germany, Spain, Portugal, and France; in the Low Countries the Jesuits' Colleges of Malines, Antwerp, and Tournai were sacked by the Calvinists, who had rebelled against Margaret of Austria, the representative of Philip II. Unable to control the insurrec-

tion, this princess was replaced by the Duke of Alba, under whose iron rule the war was carried on with redoubled vigour and cruelty on both sides.

On the 28th of September 1572, St. Francis Borgia returned to Rome in a dying state. On his way the Italian princes, filled with admiration for his sanctity, strove to detain him in their dominions; but the life that had shed so pure a lustre was fast ebbing away; and the General's sole desire was to breathe his last on the spot consecrated by the deaths of St. Ignatius and of Laynez. Pius V. was no longer there to welcome the faithful servant, whose last years had been spent in the exercise of the mission intrusted to him by the Holy See. A few months before, on the 1st of May, the Pope had died; and, in the conclave that followed, the name of Francis Borgia had been frequently pronounced as that of his most worthy successor. No earthly crown, however august, but an eternal and heavenly reward, was to be the immediate portion of the General of the Order of Jesus. His wish was accomplished; he reached Rome in time; and on the 1st of October, three days after his arrival, he calmly expired in the midst of his brethren.

The honours he had sacrificed during life were lavished on the remains of one whose death was an event that interested not only the Society, but the whole Christian world. A long burst of admiration and reverence rose from all parts of Rome at the news of his loss; and thousands of people, headed by cardinals and princes, flocked to kiss the feet of the princely Spaniard, who, like his father Ignatius, had become poor for the love of Christ.

Although the influence of St. Francis was felt far and wide, and obedience to the Pope's commands obliged him to leave Rome for a considerable period, yet he was far from neglecting the interior administration of the Society. His zeal for the maintenance of a religious spirit among his subjects is shown by a circular addressed to the different Superiors of the Order, and entitled 'On the means of preserving the spirit of the Society.' It treats chiefly of the charity, gentleness, and

self-denial which should distinguish the dealings of Superiors and their subjects. The enemies of the Order, from Palafox down to Gioberti, have stated, on the strength of this letter, that the Jesuits, even in the time of St. Francis, needed a reform; but it requires the blindness of inveterate prejudice to draw this conclusion from a document, which is simply paternal advice given to a newly-founded institute, an exhortation to follow in the footsteps of St. Ignatius, and which, as St. Francis himself observes, was intended for future rather than for present necessities.

It was under the government of the third General of the Society that the first stone of the present church of the Gesù was laid in 1567. In the time of St. Ignatius the Gesù was a mass of partly new and partly old buildings, adapted as best might be for the purposes of a religious house. The church used by the fathers was the former parochial church of Santa Maria della Strada, which had been given to them when the parish was transferred to the neighbouring church of St. Mark. The actual church of the Gesù, begun in 1567, was built by Cardinal Farnese, and the adjoining house by his great-nephew, Cardinal Edward Farnese.

The Roman College, in the days of St. Francis Borgia, formed part of the old palace of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., whose sister, the Marchioness di Valle, gave it to the Jesuits at the instance of Pius IV.; the present building was begun only in 1582, by Gregory XIII. Like St. Ignatius, St. Francis Borgia took special interest in the welfare of the Roman College, and intrusted its general superintendence to Father Ribadeneira, who was also Rector of the German College, and whom he knew to be well qualified for these important posts. The Roman College, at this period, numbered two hundred and twenty-seven students belonging to the Society, besides numerous day scholars; its professors were men like Toletus, the future cardinal; Emmanuel Sa, the famous theologian; Clavius, the reformer of the calendar, &c. The prefect of studies was Father James Ledesma, who, when a doctor of the University of Louvain, had been received into the Order by

Ribadeneira. He was a man of magnificent intellectual powers, which were only equalled by his touching humility and self-denial. Father Laynez, himself a good judge in such matters, had a profound admiration for Father Ledesma; he once confided to Ribadeneira that he often had longed that it had been his lot to live in the time of St. Augustine and other great doctors of the Church, and to have heard them speak on theological subjects and treasured their lessons; but that after becoming acquainted with Father Ledesma he understood that our Lord had granted his desire, and he could wish for nothing more. Father Ribadeneira and Father Ledesma did much to regulate the course of theological teaching to be followed at the Roman College, and rendered it perfectly sound by expelling certain propositions which appeared likely to lead to unsafe conclusions; both were ardent admirers of the angelic doctor and equally imbued with the spirit of St. Ignatius.

Father Ledesma died in 1575. His great learning was equalled, if not surpassed, by his eminent holiness, and his last moments were full of peace and joy.

Father Skarga, a Pole, was one of the most illustrious pupils of the Roman College in these early days, and when, in 1571, he returned to his own country, he became very celebrated as an orator and a controversial writer.

The first novitiate of the Society was established on the Quirinal soon after the election of Francis Borgia; it was considerably added to by Donna Giovanna of Aragon, mother of the hero of Lepanto, Mark Anthony Colonna. Besides giving a large piece of ground and a house, she presented the fathers with a considerable sum of money, and was regarded as the foundress of the novitiate of St. Andrea on the Quirinal, which at its outset was sanctified by the holy death of one of the most lovable saints of the Society of Jesus.

While by his ceaseless labours St. Francis Borgia was carrying out in all its perfection the watchword of his Institute, a pure and gentle spirit was shedding around in a narrower sphere the sweet fragrance of its sanctity. The short life of the young

Polish saint, Stanislas Kostka, has often been told.* He was born towards the end of September 1550, at Kostkow, in the duchy of Massovia, of a long line of palatines, chancellors, and nobles, whose glory was to be far surpassed by that of their young descendant. After a pure and peaceful childhood, Stanislas and his elder brother Paul, under the care of their tutor, were sent to Vienna, where they followed the classes of the Jesuit college, founded by the Emperor Ferdinand. If Stanislas was happy under the teaching of his Jesuit professors, he had much to suffer at home from his tutor, and indeed from his brother, to whom his recollection, his retired life, and penitential spirit were a constant reproach. In after years, Paul Kostka, by an heroic expiation, atoned for the faults and follies of his youth; but to the end of his life the remembrance of his harshness towards his brother drew forth bitter tears of self-reproach.

Heavenly consolations, however, were not wanting to the gentle boy, and when dangerously ill at Vienna, in the house of a Lutheran, who would not allow the Blessed Sacrament to be brought to him, he received Holy Communion at the hands of the angels, who, accompanied by St. Barbara, visited his sick-bed. He felt a strong calling towards the Society of Jesus; but on account of his father's opposition to his vocation he left Vienna alone and on foot, to seek Blessed Peter Canisius, the Provincial of Upper Germany, who, having tested the reality of his vocation, sent him on to Rome for his novitiate. St. Francis Borgia had been prepared for his arrival by a letter from Father Canisius: he received him with fatherly affection, and admitted him into the Society. Among his fellow-novices Stanislas found many whose names were to be famous in the annals of the Order; such as Claudius Aquaviva, the future General; his nephew Rodolph, the martyr; and Alexander Valignani, the great apostle of the East.

It was in October 1567 that he entered Rome; and on the 15th of the following August he breathed his last, at the age of eighteen. During these brief months he had distinguished him-

* *History of St. Stanislas*, edited by F. Coleridge, S.J.

self among his brother novices only by his regularity, modesty, angelic piety, and perfect obedience; and yet the light of his wondrous sanctity beamed forth through the obscurity in which he lived. Hardly had he expired when, by a common impulse, all the fathers then in Rome, venerable religious and youthful novices, with crowds of people from every part of the city, flocked to venerate the remains of the fair boy-saint, whose joyous disposition had won all hearts, while his wonderful holiness caused St. Francis Borgia to bury him in a special place, on the right hand of the altar, in the church of St. Andrea. It was his former fellow-novice, Claudius Aquaviva, who, when General of the Society, gave orders that judicial information about his life should be procured from those who had known him. In 1604 he was declared Blessed by Clement VIII.; in 1671 Clement X. proclaimed him one of the chief patrons of Poland; and in 1726 he was canonised by Benedict XIII.

A contrast to the brief and peaceful life of the young Polish saint is the laborious apostolate and violent death of Blessed Ignatius Azevedo, one of the most glorious martyrs of the Society under St. Francis Borgia.

Father Azevedo was born at Oporto in 1528. The eldest son of a noble family, at the age of twenty he renounced all worldly prospects in order to enter the Society of Jesus, and when still young was appointed by St. Ignatius, Rector of the College of Lisbon. Subsequently, at his earnest request, St. Francis Borgia sent him to Brazil, where he founded several houses of the Society; and having returned to Europe on the affairs of the mission, he prepared to embark again for America with sixty-eight companions, who wished to share his labours. Many of them were only novices, and before their departure he spent five months with them in a solitary country house near Lisbon, carefully training them for the arduous apostolate which was to be their portion.

This time of solitude and prayer was one of deep happiness to Azevedo, who wrote that the Val de Rozal seemed to him like a foretaste of heaven. Little did he or his brethren think that, instead of preparing for long years of laborious missionary

work in the midst of Brazilian forests, they were fitting themselves for a short sharp struggle and the blood-stained crown of martyrdom. On the 2d of June, Azevedo and thirty-nine of his companions embarked on the vessel St. James; the rest, for want of room, were distributed on other ships equally bound for Brazil. Community life, with all its regular exercises, was soon established on board the St. James, and the little band of apostles were doubtless looking forward to a speedy termination of their voyage, when the vessel was attacked by the Calvinist pirate, Jacques Sourie of Dieppe, whose double object was to pillage the ship and massacre the missionaries. The crew of the St. James only numbered forty men, but they bore bravely the corsair's first charge. Azevedo had brought a picture of our Lady, copied from the portrait said to have been painted by St. Luke, and, showing it to his companions, he addressed to them a few touching words of exhortation; then, after giving them absolution, he took up his station at the foot of the mainmast, with the picture of the Blessed Virgin in his hand. The elder fathers remained near him to assist the wounded sailors, but the novices were sent down into the cabin to pray for help from heaven. Enraged at the brave defence of the St. James, Sourie summoned four other pirate-ships to his assistance; soon fifty Calvinists had boarded the vessel, a hand-to-hand fight ensued, and the Catholic captain was killed. At length, only a few wounded sailors were left to continue the defence, and these Sourie agreed to spare; the victims for whose blood he thirsted were the Jesuits, who, fully realising the fate that awaited them, had offered up the sacrifice of their lives. Azevedo, their leader, was the first to die; as he fell, bathed in blood and mortally wounded by a sword-cut, he exclaimed: 'Angels and men are witnesses that I die in behalf of the Holy Church, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic.' A more lingering agony awaited some of his companions, but, encouraged by his example, not one failed in the trial. It was Friday, and the heretics tried to force meat down their throats, and, furious at their resistance, covered them with wounds. To all life and liberty were offered if they would renounce the faith; but even

the youngest among them preferred death to apostasy. Some were stabbed to the heart; others tied hand and foot and thrown into the sea; and one, who, though grievously wounded, still survived, was bound to the mouth of a cannon and blown to pieces. An heroic episode marked the close of that bloody day. During the journey the captain's nephew, a young man named San Juan, had begged Azevedo to receive him as a postulant into the Order, and when he saw the martyrdom of the Jesuits he sought the pirate chief, and claimed his right to die with them. On being told that, as he did not wear their dress, he could not be counted as one of them, and therefore might be spared, he quickly put on the blood-stained cassock of a dead missionary, who lay close by, and a moment later rejoined his brethren in heaven. That evening, one of the Portuguese sailors, who was a prisoner, saw the body of Ignatius Azevedo floating near the ship; the picture of our Lady was still clasped in the martyr's hands, and the sailor succeeded in obtaining possession of it; he afterwards gave it to the Jesuits of Madeira, who sent it to Brazil, where it was preserved with great veneration. Only one lay-brother, John Sanchez, was spared; he acted as cook on board the St. James, and to this circumstance owed his life; it is from him that we have the details of the massacre.*

The forty martyrs were beatified by Pope Benedict XIV. in 1742, and their feast is kept on the day of their glorious death, the 15th of July. The following year, 1571, another vessel, with thirty Jesuits on board, was attacked by the Calvinist pirate Capdevielle; a sharp contest ensued, the Catholics were again overwhelmed by numbers, and, though the lives of the sailors were spared, the Jesuits were all cruelly put to death. The fate of these seventy missionaries, who gained the palm of martyrdom on the waters of the Atlantic, far from damping the ardour of their brethren, encouraged them to further efforts.

* Among the companions of Father Azevedo was a nephew of St. Teresa, Francis Perez Godoy. On the day of the martyrdom, 15th of July 1570, she had a vision, and saw the forty Jesuits, beautiful and dazzling, and among them she recognised her nephew.

In 1572, Father Tolosa with thirteen companions at length reached the Brazilian shore in safety, and in a subsequent chapter we shall see the wonderful results that crowned their heroic labours in these vast regions.

In other parts of America likewise the members of the Society were toiling and suffering for Christ. In 1566, Father Martinez was killed by the savages of Florida, and in the succeeding years other Jesuits shared the same fate. In 1568, Father Jerome Portillo founded a college at Lima; while Father Lopez devoted himself to the negro slaves, and endeavoured by the consolations of religion to reconcile them to their hard fate. In all the countries subject to the Spanish and Portuguese rule the fathers strove to counteract by their devotion the odium which too often had been attached to the Christian name by the cruelty of the conquerors. Their voluntary poverty, contrasted with the thirst for gold that consumed their countrymen, and the self-sacrifice with which they gave themselves up to the service of the oppressed, softened hearts that injustice and tyranny had embittered and hardened. The letters of the Bishops of the New World supply ample proofs of the zeal and services of the Jesuit missionaries; among others, the Archbishop of Quito confided his seminary to their direction, and on this occasion rendered a striking testimony to their merits.

Meanwhile, the work of salvation begun in India and Japan by St. Francis Xavier was being actively pursued by his successors, Fathers Cabral, Almeida, Froës, Villela, and others. The day had not come when the soil of Japan was to be deluged in the blood of countless martyrs; it was still the golden age of Christianity in that distant land, and the missionaries were joyfully welcomed by those among whom the memory of the 'great father' was lovingly preserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

Father Everard Mercurian, Fourth General of the Society, 1573-1580.

THE General Congregation that assembled to choose the successor of St. Francis Borgia proceeded on the 23d of April of the following year to elect Father Everard Mercurian, a Belgian by birth, and a man of mature age, great gentleness of disposition, and remarkable prudence and experience. An evident proof of the consideration the Society had obtained in the Christian world was the keen interest taken in the election of a new General, and many were the intrigues brought into play around the solemn assembly where the elders of the Order gave their votes. The Pope himself advised the fathers not to choose another Spaniard, as he feared an undue amount of influence might thus be given to Spain; but the election of Father Mercurian satisfied all parties, for, though a subject of Philip II., he was a native of the Low Countries.

This anxiety regarding the choice of the future General had its source in the prominent part taken by the members of the Society in all the great events of the day. In the sixteenth century wars, negotiations, treaties of peace, every political transaction in short, was intimately connected with religion; priests and religious of different orders were continually employed as nuncios or ambassadors, and invested with important missions. Under these circumstances the Society of Jesus, whose action in the religious world was so marked, necessarily found itself more or less involved in the affairs of state, with which those of the Church were at this period intimately interwoven.

The new Pope, Gregory XIII., continued to treat the Jesuits with the confidence and affection shown to them by his predecessor, St. Pius V., and the Protestants of Germany

strove in vain to discredit the teaching of the fathers at Glatz, Prague, Vienna, and Innsbrück; the Pontiff turned a deaf ear to accusations which religious animosity had alone dictated. Father Canisius, though broken by age and constant labour, was still now, as in the vigour of his youth, the most valued champion of the faith in Germany. After sending him as his Nuncio to the Courts of Austria and Bavaria, the Pope called him to Rome, in order to consult him upon the best means of defending the faith in the provinces of North Germany; and, struck by his wisdom and by the immense services he had rendered to religion, Gregory XIII. wished to execute the idea conceived by Pius V., and to bestow on him the Roman purple. Canisius fled before the proffered dignity, as Borgia and Laynez had done, and returned to Germany, where his last great work was the foundation of the celebrated school of Friburg, for many years one of the most flourishing colleges of the Order.

In the Low Countries the Jesuit houses, as we have seen in a previous chapter, had been pillaged and burnt by the insurgent Flemings, under the government of Margaret of Austria. True, in 1577, Don Juan of Austria, the hero of Lepanto, and a penitent of the Jesuit Father John Fernandez, was appointed governor of the rebel provinces, and the Institute found in him a firm friend, though even he was unable to defend it completely from the outrages of his unruly subjects. The Duke of Parma, his successor, was likewise the fathers' constant protector, and under his more peaceful administration some of their colleges were restored to them; but though suffering grievously from the civil war which convulsed the Low Countries, the Jesuits were chiefly occupied by a religious controversy, which at this time riveted the attention of the Catholic world.

Michel de Bay, or Baïus, Chancellor of the University of Louvain, a man of much talent, but of a subtle and ill-balanced mind, had brought forward several heretical propositions, which in 1567 had been condemned by Pius V. His submission to this sentence was neither sincere nor complete, and he endeavoured by lengthy arguments and dissertations to

justify his doctrine, the leading error of which was, that since the fall of Adam all man's natural actions must necessarily be sinful. This teaching, which at a later period was revived by the Jansenists, was from its origin energetically opposed by the Jesuits, and, by order of the Pope, Father Bellarmine, then at the zenith of his fame, proceeded to Brabant.

Few theologians have acquired a reputation so great and so universal as Robert Bellarmine, a nephew of Pope Marcellus II. He was born at Montepulciano in 1542, and his diminutive height and extraordinary talent used to make his contemporaries say that he was at once the greatest and the smallest man of his day. From 1570 to 1577 he successfully defended the faith against the subtle errors of Baïus, uniting strength and clearness of argument with great respect for the person of his adversary. The Jansenist historian Quesnel, no friend of the Society, says of him: 'His youth and his eloquence seemed two qualities so seldom united, that every one was curious to hear him. His reputation became so universal that it attracted the attention of the Protestants of England and Holland.'*

At length, in 1580, Father Toletus, who was sent to complete the work of Father Bellarmine, obtained from Baïus a public and solemn retractation of his errors, and a written adhesion to the sentence of Rome.

In 1574, Father Warsewicz was sent by the Pope on a very different mission. John, King of Sweden, influenced by his Catholic wife, the Polish Princess Catharine, showed a decided leaning towards the true faith. He was a learned man, who had read deeply; but his character was naturally weak and vacillating, and though, when Father Warsewicz arrived, he received him willingly, and discussed with him the chief difficulties in his way, he seemed unable to summon courage for the final step.

In 1577, Father Possevinus, whose labours in Savoy and in France have already been noticed, was created by Gregory XIII. Legate of the Holy See, and sent to Sweden to overcome the

* *Histoire religieuse de la Compagnie de Jésus,* par Quesnel, vol. iii. p. 345; quoted by Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 151.

king's hesitation; he was accompanied by Father William Good, an Englishman, and Father Fournier, a Frenchman.

The Jesuit Legate was received with every demonstration of respect; he found John III. fully convinced of the truth of Catholicity; and on the 16th May 1578 he said Mass in the palace in presence of the king, who read his act of abjuration with tears of joy, the queen and two faithful servants alone being present.

However, before declaring himself a Catholic, John III. wished to obtain from Rome various concessions which he thought might dispose his subjects to follow his example. Father Possevinus therefore returned to explain to the Pope the difficulties that surrounded the royal convert, and to consult on the best means of solving them. The Holy See, though it could not yield to all the king's demands, showed itself ready to understand and to sympathise with his embarrassments; and when Father Possevinus returned to Sweden, in December 1579, he was invested with full powers to take all the measures he judged beneficial to the interests of Catholicity, and to the welfare of the nation. But meanwhile the zeal of John III. had grown cold; his convictions as to the truth of the Catholic faith were unshaken, but the opposition of his relatives, the intrigues of the Lutheran bishops, the remonstrances of his councillors, had made a deep impression on his weak nature. For a whole year Father Possevinus remained in Sweden, the sad witness of the struggles of a soul, where conscience and worldly interests were fighting for mastery; and at length, the king having returned to heresy, he left the country for ever.

His mission, fruitless in appearance, was not without results. Sigismund, King John's son, who had been brought up a Catholic, faithfully remembered the lessons that had fallen unheeded on his father's ear; and later on he sacrificed the throne of Sweden rather than abandon his faith, and received the Polish crown as the reward of his constancy.

While John III. was thus vacillating between truth and error, Stephen Batory, who had become King of Poland on the abdication of Henry of France, was proving himself a

munificent patron and warm friend of the Society of Jesus. In 1576 he freed all the Jesuit colleges in Poland from the obligation of paying taxes, and the following year he addressed them a letter full of expressions of esteem and affection.

In France the Institute was daily gaining ground in the face of numberless difficulties. In 1574, Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry III. Personally the late king had been willing to protect the Jesuits; but his efforts on their behalf were paralyzed by the jealous animosity of the parliament, who, unable to prevent the foundation of the Jesuit colleges, spared no pains to impede their progress and to destroy their credit. An amusing instance of the almost superstitious horror with which the Order of Jesus was regarded by the adherents of the Paris parliament is related in the history of Father Coton,* the celebrated confessor of Henry IV. of France. His father, the Seigneur de Chenevoux, a worthy man in many respects, had filled some employment at court, and had there imbibed the spirit of antagonism to Rome and of hatred for the Society that characterised nearly all the magistrates of the day. He had taught his children to look upon the Jesuits as men both dangerous and wicked; and his lessons had been listened to and believed by his second son Peter, a simple and innocent boy, who was sent to pursue his studies in Paris. One day, little Peter Coton and some of his friends happened to pass before the Jesuit College of Clermont, which had been founded, as we have seen, in 1563. The great gates were open, and some of the fathers with their pupils were walking up and down the court; among them may have been St. Francis of Sales, who at that time was a student at the college. Little Peter's friends amused themselves by pushing him into the court as they passed by; he ran away horrified, and afterwards complained bitterly to his companions of the trick they had played him. Nothing could console him for the thought that he had crossed the Jesuits' threshold, and he went to his confessor to accuse himself of having entered

* *Recherches sur la Compagnie en France au Temps du P. Coton*, par P. Prat, S.J.

their court, and of having even looked at one or two of the fathers who happened to be there.

The new king, Henry III., was favourably disposed towards the Society, and one of his first acts was to choose for his confessor Father Auger, who had so often assisted the dying soldiers on the battle-fields of the preceding reign. So great indeed was his esteem for this holy missionary that he wished to obtain for him the cardinal's hat, a project which Father Auger energetically opposed.

In all countries, in spite of petty jealousies and partial opposition, the Catholics felt that, in the midst of the religious and political tempests of those troubled times, the sons of St. Ignatius were the Church's most trusty soldiers, and the chief supporters of her suffering children.

Thus, in 1580, Alexander Farnese, writing from the Low Countries to Philip II., says, 'Sire, your majesty desired me to construct a citadel at Maestricht; but I thought that a Jesuit college would be a fortress better fitted to defend the inhabitants against the enemies of the altar and of the throne. I have therefore erected one.'* A short time previously, the Duke of Lorraine had obtained from Pope Gregory XIII. that the college of the Society at Pont-à-Mousson, where his son was being educated, should be erected into an university. In 1572 the celebrated Father Maldonatus was appointed one of the professors, and his fame shed new lustre on the already flourishing school. In Paris, where, between the envy and suspicions of the parliament and the open hatred of the Huguenots, the existence of the Institute was one continual conflict, the College of Clermont daily increased in numbers and prosperity under its first rectors, Father Cogordon and Father Edmund Hay.† A residence of the Society was about the

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 176.

† In 1620 the College of Clermont numbered three hundred boarders and one thousand seven hundred day scholars; in 1667, four hundred and forty boarders; and in 1688, five hundred and fifty boarders; among whom were several palatines of Poland and two nephews of the King of the Macassar Islands. Later, the number of boarders and day pupils increased to two thousand five hundred and three thousand.

same period established in the Rue St. Antoine, by the Cardinal de Bourbon; and a Papal Brief, dated April 1580, recommends Monseigneur de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, to protect and favour the new foundation by all means in his power. The murmurs of the university on this occasion were arrested by a sudden and fearful invasion of the plague; for one moment all jealousies and enmities were cast aside; in the hospitals and through the plague-stricken streets, at the bedside of the dying, universitarians, seculars, and Jesuits united in a common mission of heroism and devotion.

While these events were passing in France, the Society was making rapid progress in Spain, and had founded new houses at Seville, Oviedo, Pampeluna, Valencia, and other towns. Among the most eminent Spanish Jesuits at this period must be named Father Balthazar Alvarez, born at Cervera, in the diocese of Calahorra, in 1533, and who entered the Order at the age of eighteen. His extraordinary piety and union with God, his passionate love for suffering, and perfect detachment from all earthly things, no less than his merits as a theologian, speedily attracted the attention of his Superiors; and after going through the usual course of training prescribed by St. Ignatius, he was appointed to several posts of importance. He is perhaps best known as the confessor and guide of St. Teresa, whom he met at Avila, and whom he strengthened and advised in her difficult work of reform. The great Carmelite saint, who describes herself as the *hija de la Compañia*—the daughter of the Society of Jesus—renders a striking testimony to the humility, prudence, and devotion of Father Alvarez, of whom it was revealed to her that he surpassed in perfection all the holy persons living at that period. He died before St. Teresa, in 1580.

In Lombardy the Jesuits continued to enjoy the friendship and protection of St. Charles Borromeo. In 1569 he gave them the church of San Fedele at Milan; in 1572 the abbey of Brera, which became an university; the same year he founded a novitiate of the Society at Arona; and a little later confided to their direction the college of nobles in his archiepiscopal

town. He had also placed them at the head of his diocesan seminary; but finding that their numbers were unequal to the different works they had undertaken, the fathers earnestly besought him to relieve them of the care of the seminary. For seven years he refused to do so, although the secular priests were continually pointing out to him that in all probability his seminarists would become Jesuits. At length, Father Ribadeneira, who had been appointed visitor of the houses in Lombardy, prevailed upon him to yield, and it was then that the saint established the Congregation of the Oblates, and gave his seminary to their care.

Towards 1579 a slight cloud unfortunately marred the harmony existing among the Milanese Jesuits, and though it did not alter the friendly relations between the Society and the archbishop, it afforded to the enemies of the Institute a pretext for circulating new inventions and calumnies. Some difference having arisen between St. Charles and the Spanish Governor of Milan, Father Adorno, Rector of the college, and the greater number of the fathers sided with the archbishop, while a few others inclined towards the opposite party. Among these was Father Mazarini, the governor's confessor, who publicly and violently attacked the archbishop in one of his sermons. Humble as he was, St. Charles was deeply wounded; but his indignation did not equal that of the Jesuits themselves, who publicly testified their disapproval. Mazarini was summoned to Rome, reprimanded by the General, forbidden to preach for two years, and required to ask pardon of the archbishop.

This incident has been magnified by writers hostile to the Society, who asserted that it completely deprived the fathers of the confidence and affection of the holy prelate. They found these statements chiefly on a collection of letters of the saint, published at Lugano in 1762 or 1763 by an apostate priest, called Agnelli, under the auspices of the Portuguese envoy Almada, a tool of Pombal. In the various controversies upon the subject the letters have been clearly proved to be mutilated and falsified and utterly untrustworthy, and most certainly their testimony cannot be taken as equal to that of St.

Charles Borromeo's best historians, Guissano and Oltrocchi, who show that the imprudence of one member in no way altered his love for the whole Society of Jesus. This is moreover proved by abundant facts. In 1583, four years after the affair at Milan, Father Galeardi accompanied the archbishop to Switzerland, and, according to Oltrocchi, St. Charles contributed largely to the establishment of the fathers at Verona, Mantua, Lucerne, Genoa, and Friburg. It was at Arona, where now his colossal statue rises on the borders of Lake Maggiore, amidst the fairest scenery of Northern Italy, that the holy prelate loved to spend a few days in rest and quiet at the Jesuit novitiate he had founded and endowed. Twice a year he used to make a retreat under the direction of the fathers, either at the novitiate of Novellara with Father Valentini, or at Arona with his own confessor, Father Adorno. On these occasions he was as simple and humble as the youngest novice in the house, and showed a childlike joy at being able to lay aside for a moment the heavy responsibility that rested upon him. After a pilgrimage to the Calvary of Varallo, in 1584, he arrived at Arona for the last time on the eve of All Saints. His kinsman, Count Borromeo, was waiting for him on the edge of the lake; but the saint, who felt that his days were numbered, declined the apartments that had been prepared for him, and, accompanied by Father Adorno, proceeded to the Jesuit novitiate. On the 1st of November he said Mass and gave Communion to the novices; but his strength was failing rapidly, and on the 2d he was only able to assist at Mass and receive Holy Communion. The same day, though very feeble, he caused himself to be transported to Milan, where two days afterwards he expired in the arms of his Jesuit confessor. He had said his last Mass in a church of the Society, as, nineteen years before, his second Mass had been said at the Gesù in Rome. The holy memory of the great archbishop was long cherished at the novitiate, which owed its existence to his generosity, and which became renowned throughout the Order as a school of piety and virtue.

The government of the fourth General of the Society of

Jesus, although, perhaps, less fruitful in great events than that of his predecessor, Francis Borgia, or that of Claudius Aquaviva, who came after him, possesses a special interest for England, as it was Father Mercurian who first sent upon the English mission Jesuit apostles destined to occupy a glorious place in the history of the Institute.

It was about the time when St. Ignatius and his companions formed themselves into a body, destined to serve the Church so effectually in her days of peril, that Henry VIII., throwing off the yoke of Rome, gave himself up to his evil passions, and plunged his subjects into the troubled waters of error and rebellion. His son—a mere puppet in the hands of the ambitious men who surrounded him—followed in his footsteps; but when Mary, the daughter of the deeply injured Catharine of Aragon, ascended the throne, brighter days seemed to dawn upon the Isle of Saints, and the ancient faith resumed its sway throughout the land.

On August 3, 1553, Queen Mary made her solemn entrance into London. As she passed St. Paul's School, on her way to the Tower, she was harangued by a little boy of thirteen, who had gained the prize at a recent examination of the London grammar schools, and, on this account, was selected to address the queen. Mary is said to have been much pleased, and the people heartily cheered the youthful speaker, Edmund Campion, whose 'sweet, modulated, full, sonorous bass voice' was destined hereafter to nerve many trembling hearts to deeds of faith and heroism. Close by the queen rode her sister Elizabeth, and they were followed by many ladies of rank, and escorted by eight thousand horsemen. It was a strange stroke of fate that thus brought together for the first time Elizabeth the future queen, and Campion the protomartyr of the English Jesuits, the two destined to meet long years afterwards under such different circumstances.*

* Elizabeth and Campion met once again before the day when the tortured prisoner of the Tower was led into his sovereign's presence at Lord Leicester's house in July 1581. In 1566, when the queen visited Oxford, Campion, then a student at the university, was chosen to exhibit in a rhetorical dispute before Elizabeth, who, it is said, was much pleased

In November 1558, Queen Mary died, and was succeeded by Elizabeth, 'who,' says Father Parsons, 'was set up chiefly by the forwardness and forces of the Catholic nobility and people, who at that day were, without comparison, the strongest party.' During her sister's lifetime she had been to all appearances a Catholic; but within a very few weeks of her accession she threw off the mask. She began by forbidding the Sacred Host to be elevated in her presence, and in other ways gave ground for suspicion as to her orthodoxy. After her coronation she openly declared herself, and, having treacherously secured the absence of the chief Catholic nobles from the House of Lords, she substituted the Anglican Establishment for the Catholic Church by a narrow majority. It was a long time, however, before the change thoroughly penetrated among the people; and to attain this end, stratagems, flatteries, threats, and violence were alternately made use of by the queen and her unscrupulous ministers. The most influential of these was Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, a crafty and able statesman, and a bitter enemy to the Catholic faith, to which, however, he had judged it expedient to conform under the reign of Queen Mary. The Bishops who refused to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth were mostly deprived of their sees before the end of 1559; and in 1563 we find the Emperor Ferdinand, whose attention had been called to the sufferings of the English Catholics, vainly recommending to the queen the practice of toleration, and soliciting her indulgence in behalf of the deprived Bishops, whose only crime consisted in their refusal to recognise Elizabeth as head of the Church.

In consequence of the vexations to which they were subjected, many Catholic families fled beyond the seas. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the Crown, and given or sold at low prices to the followers of the court. Those who remained might be divided into two classes: some,

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both at the scholarship of his speech and its elegant flattery to herself (*Life of Edmund Campion*, by Simpson).

to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established service, and endeavoured to quiet their conscience by asserting that they regarded such attendance merely as a civil duty; but the greater number abstained from a worship they detested, and consequently were compelled to spend their lives in perpetual alarms. At any moment they were liable to be hurried before the Courts of High Commission, to be questioned upon oath how often they had been at church; when and where they had received the Sacraments; to be condemned as 'recusants' to fines and imprisonment, or as 'persons reconciled' to forfeiture and confinement for life. The terrors of the English Catholics were renewed every year by proclamations or secret messages, calling upon the magistrates, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical commissioners to redouble their vigilance, to enforce the laws respecting religion, and to search private houses in order to discover priests or persons assisting at Mass.

On the 25th of February 1570, St. Pius V., in a celebrated Bull, denounced the queen's cruelty and injustice, excommunicated her and her adherents, and released her subjects from their allegiance. As may be supposed this act further incensed the government, and rendered the position of Catholics more difficult and painful. 'Queen Mary's priests,' as the nonconforming or Catholic clergy were called, had continued for years to exercise their functions at a considerable risk to themselves and to their friends; but their numbers were rapidly diminishing, and, as the deprived Bishops were prevented from ordaining others to take their places, it was confidently expected that in a short time the Catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the Catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom. This would probably have been the case had it not been for the exertions of William Allen, a priest of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. It occurred to him that colleges might be opened abroad for the training of priests, to replace those which had been closed to the Catholics at home. His plan was approved of by his friends; several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; and in 1568

Allen established himself at Douai, where the new college soon numbered 150 scholars. Many among them were eminent students, who had previously distinguished themselves at the English universities; and all were full of zeal for the propagation of the faith, for the sake of which they had become exiles.

In 1578, owing to the disturbances in the Low Countries, and, according to some, to the remonstrances of the English Government, the seminary was removed to Rheims in France. An English college had likewise been established in Rome by Gregory XIII. in 1579; but the appointment of a Welshman, Maurice Clennock, as President irritated the students, and the disturbance that ensued rendered it necessary for Dr. Allen to proceed to Rome to restore peace. It was during his stay in the Eternal City that Allen begged the Father General, Everard Mercurian, to allow the Jesuits to share the glory and peril of the English mission. He showed the necessity and importance of the undertaking; spoke of the desire of the English Catholics to have Jesuits among them, and of the encouragement that their presence would give to the secular priests, many of whom had pursued their studies abroad, under the direction of the Society. In reply, Father Mercurian urged that so grave a matter could not be settled without mature deliberation. He did not fear for his subjects the physical privations and risk of death, which members of the Order had cheerfully encountered since the earliest days of its foundation. But the stringent laws passed against priests in England made their position there more difficult and perilous than in the uncivilised lands where Xavier and his disciples had planted the Cross; and the Father General feared the trials to which his children's vocation would be exposed. They would have to go about in disguise, separated from one another; obliged to conceal their priesthood, having no means of recollection, no Spiritual Exercises together. For weeks and months they might be isolated, thrown on their own responsibility, and completely deprived of the community life to which they were accustomed, and which to religious is so great a source, not

only of consolation, but of support and strength. Father Oliver Manare, Assistant for Germany, and Father Claudius Aquaviva, Provincial of Rome, who had himself petitioned to be sent to England, mainly contributed to overrule the Father General's objections. At length, in 1580, Dr. Allen's request received a favourable reply; and it was decided that two or three fathers, selected by Father Mercurian, should proceed to England without delay.

The foundation and success of the English colleges abroad had increased the hatred with which the Catholic faith was regarded by Elizabeth and her counsellors; and accordingly they resolved to try the influence of terror by subjecting the missionaries and their supporters to the utmost severity of the law. It is at this period that the great sufferings of the English Catholics may be said to have commenced, as during the preceding nineteen years of the queen's reign, in spite of continual vexations and persecutions, but little blood had been shed by her for matters purely religious.

In 1577, Cuthbert Mayne, a native of Cornwall, and a pupil of the Seminary of Douai, opened the long line of martyred English priests, whose blood from that moment continued for more than a hundred years to water the ancient Isle of Saints.

The news of the approaching arrival of the Jesuits, which Cecil speedily obtained from the numerous spies whom he employed on the Continent, exasperated and alarmed the government still farther. It was purposely given out that they came with treasonable projects against the queen's safety; and the pursuivants, or priest-hunters, were stimulated with promises and threats to discover and apprehend all who might arrive, while the laws already passed against Catholics were increased in severity.

It is necessary, at the outset of this brief account of the Jesuits' mission in England, to give an abridgment of the pains and penalties to which they were exposed, in order that the heroic devotion of the missionaries may be fully appreciated, and the perils they incurred clearly understood. These laws

were not all passed at the same period; some were made by the queen almost immediately on her accession. By degrees they were added to, as the constancy of the Catholics and the courage of the priests further increased the hatred of the queen and her ministers; and after the death of Elizabeth they were maintained and confirmed by James I.

Every Englishman, whenever he receives any office, dignity, ecclesiastical benefice, any degree of school, profession, university, shall take an oath, protesting that he acknowledges the queen, not the Pope, as supreme head of the Church of England. Whoever shall refuse to take this oath shall not only be disabled of the foresaid preferment, but also lose all his lands and goods, and suffer perpetual imprisonment. And for the second time, if he persists three months in the same, then he shall suffer death, as in cases of high treason. Whoever shall, by writing, printing, or teaching, affirm or defend the jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal, of the Bishop of Rome, for his first offence shall forfeit all his goods; for his second offence shall be cast into perpetual prison; and for the third time shall suffer death. The aiders and abettors of such persons shall likewise suffer death, if the offence be repeated. Any man bringing into the queen's dominions any Bull, writing, or authority on the part of the Pope, to absolve or reconcile any person, is guilty of high treason, and shall suffer death; as also his abettors and counsellors, and any person who shall seek such absolution or reconciliation. Whoever shall bring into English dominions any crosses, pictures, Agnus Dei, or whoever shall deliver or receive them, shall incur the loss of his goods and perpetual imprisonment. Every person who shall pass into the dominions of foreign princes without the queen's special license, and shall not return within the space of six months after proclamation made for them to return, shall forfeit the whole profit of their lands during life. Whatever conveyances, grants, gifts such persons shall have made of their lands shall be utterly void before the law. Any Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest, ordained out of England by the See of Rome, shall incur the pain of death for high treason

by returning to England; and every one who shall receive or assist a Jesuit or priest shall likewise suffer death. Every person refusing to go to the Protestant church shall pay 20*l.* a month to the Crown, also 10*l.* for his wife and children, and 10*l.* if he keep a schoolmaster who does not go to church.

Such is a summary of the penalties to which the children of the Church were exposed in England, and the Jesuits whom Father Mercurian selected to share them were men whose courage, learning, and virtue fitted them for their dangerous mission. Out of a host of candidates, all eager to be sent to England, the General fixed his choice on Father Robert Parsons and Father Edmund Campion, men of widely different characters, but both possessing remarkable qualities, and filled with an ardent desire to labour for Christ in their native land.

Robert Parsons was born in 1546, of good Catholic parents; his mother, Christina Parsons, who had much to suffer for the faith, lived to an advanced age, and died in 1600, being then over ninety years of age. It is touching to remark the filial affection with which she was surrounded to the last by the English Jesuits. The martyrs Father Briant, Father Southwell, and Father Garnet visited her assiduously, and cheered her old age by bringing to her the consolations of religion. Robert was her sixth child, and from his infancy showed remarkable intelligence and zeal for learning. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Oxford, where, by his industry, judgment, and unusual talent, he speedily rose to distinction, but where he seems for a moment to have forgotten the teaching of his childhood, as he was induced to take the oath of abjuration of the Pope's supremacy. Soon, however, he bitterly repented this fault; and as he found that, on account of the increasing spirit of persecution against Catholics, it was impossible for him to remain at Oxford, he left England in 1574 with the intention of studying medicine at Padua. On his way through Belgium he stopped at Louvain, where he made the Spiritual Exercises for eight days, under a Jesuit, Father William Good; and after a brief stay at Padua he resolved to seek admittance into the Society of Jesus. He travelled to

Rome on foot, and on the 24th of July 1575 was received into the Order. Three years later he was ordained a priest, and when appointed to the English mission in 1580 he was in charge of the 'novitiate of the second year' at Rome. In succeeding chapters we shall have occasion to admire the indefatigable activity, generous devotion, and rare prudence of Father Parsons, who during many years was the life and soul of the English mission, and who seems to have been saved from martyrdom in order that he might be the supporter and helper of his brethren.

We have already had a glimpse of Edmund Campion, when as a child of thirteen he harangued Queen Mary on her solemn entry into London.* He was born on the 25th of January 1540, and was the son of a London bookseller. In 1557 he went to Oxford, where he was much beloved for his sweetness of temper, and admired for his splendid talents; but, says Father Parsons, his successes put him in exceeding danger, by enticing him to follow a course of which his conscience disapproved; for though he was always a sound Catholic at heart, he consented to take the oath against the Pope's supremacy, and remained for several years divided between his interior misgivings, fears, and remorse and his love for his Oxford life, the brilliant successes of which he had not courage to relinquish. At length, in August 1569, he determined to temporize no longer, and after a stay in Ireland, where he was in danger of being arrested for his public profession of the Catholic faith, he went to the English Seminary of Douai, resolved to become a priest. Here he completed his course of scholastic theology, and was made subdeacon; but feeling himself called to the Society of Jesus, he bade adieu to Dr. Allen and proceeded to Rome. He performed the journey on foot, dressed as a beggar, and on the way met with a former Oxford acquaintance, a Protestant, who had some difficulty in identifying the miserably clad wayfarer with the brilliant scholar whom he had formerly known 'in great pomp and prosperity.'

In April 1573, Campion was received into the Society. He

* See Simpson's *Life of Edmund Campion.*

was the first postulant admitted by the new General, Father Mercurian; and there being at that time no English province, he was given to Father Maggio, Provincial of Austria, and sent to the novitiate at Prague. He travelled with Father James Avellanedo, who afterwards told Father Parsons 'how exceedingly he was edified in all that journey with the modesty, humility, sweet behaviour, and angelical conversation of Father Campion, for whose sake he remained ever after much affectioned to our whole nation.'

The letters exchanged between Campion and his fellow-novices of Bohemia after he had left them show with what hearty good-will he had embraced those menial offices allotted by St. Ignatius to the young religious. 'O dear walls,' he writes, alluding to his old abode, 'that once enclosed me in your company! Pleasant recreation-room, where we conversed so holily! Glorious kitchen, where the best friends fight for the saucepans in holy humility and hearty charity! How often do I picture to myself one returning with his load from the farm, another from the market; one sweating stalwarthly and merrily under a sack of rubbish, another under some other load. Believe me, my dearest brothers, that your dust, your brooms, your chaff, your loads, are beheld by the angels with joy, and that through them they obtain more for you from God than if they saw in your hands sceptres, jewels, and purses of gold.'

Campion's filial love for the Society breaks out again and again in his letters. 'For I know,' he writes, 'what liberty there is in obedience, what pleasure in labour, what sweetness in prayer, what dignity in humility, what peace in conflicts, what nobility in patience, what perfection in infirmity! My dearest brothers, life is not long enough to thank our Lord for revealing to us these mysteries.'

In 1574, Campion became professor of rhetoric at Prague and President of the Congregation of our Lady; besides this, he was often employed in teaching the catechism to poor children, in visiting hospitals and prisons, and sometimes in helping in the kitchen. 'I have no time to be ill,' he writes to Father

Parsons. His letters at this period are singularly interesting, and reveal much of his character, which seems to have been very sweet and lovable. In 1577 he heard of the death of Cuthbert Mayne, the first priest executed under Elizabeth, and who had been his pupil at Douai. 'Wretch that I am,' he exclaimed, 'how has that novice distanced me! May he be favourable to his old friend and tutor.' The following year he was ordained priest, and on the 8th of September said his first Mass. His learning and eloquence had made him celebrated at Prague; it was he who composed the Latin dramas and orations repeated by the scholars on all important occasions; one of his plays was acted before the Empress and the Queen of France, Elizabeth, widow of Charles IX., amidst universal admiration and applause.

In March 1580 the Father Rector of Prague received a letter from the General to inform him that Campion was one of the fathers chosen for the English mission, and was to leave immediately for Rome. The summons was received with joyful submission, and, the night before the traveller's departure, James Gall, a Silesian father, reputed to have ecstasies, wrote over Campion's cell: 'Beatus Edmundus Campianus martyr.' When rebuked for this, he replied that he had felt obliged to do it. The next morning Campion departed; and as he bade adieu to the Father Rector the latter changed habits with him, 'a common mode in those days of leaving a keepsake with a friend.'*

He reached Rome on Holy Saturday, the 5th of April 1580, and the few days that elapsed between his arrival and his final departure for the mission were spent chiefly in receiving instructions for his future guidance. On asking how far the Bull of St. Pius, excommunicating Elizabeth, was binding, he was told that while things remained in their present condition Catholics were to acknowledge the queen, and to obey her in all things appertaining to a temporal sovereign. To the advice given to the two missionaries by Pope Gregory XIII., Father Everard Mercurian added a code of instructions,

* Simpson, p. 96.

in which he enters into further details as to their conduct. They were exhorted to follow as closely as possible the rules of the Order, to be prudent and cautious in their conversations; if unable to live together, they were to visit each other as often as they could do so with safety; they were cautioned, moreover, not to be over eager to enter into controversy, and when obliged to do so to avoid sarcasm, and to always use the best and strongest arguments; 'to avoid familiar conversation with women and boys; to take especial care never to deserve a reputation for gossiping, or of beggars and legacy-hunters.'* Fortified by these wise instructions, of which the practical good sense and fatherly thoughtfulness remind us of the rules given by St. Ignatius to the Jesuit Legates in Ireland, Parsons and Campion left Rome on the 18th of April 1580. They were accompanied by Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Edward Rishton, secular priests from the English College; Thomas Briscoe and John Pascal, lay-students; four old priests from the English hospital in Rome; Ralph Emerson, a Jesuit lay-brother, and another whose name is not recorded. Father Oliver Manare and some other fathers were sent by the General to bear them company as far as the Ponte Molle, where they took an affectionate leave of the travellers and wished them God-speed on their journey.

Of the two Jesuit missionaries, Parsons was more fitted for administration and management; he had great tact, was active and courageous, gifted with a rare knowledge of character, and possessed a mind fertile in expedients, ready wit, and untiring energy.

Campion, a cultivated and brilliant scholar, was of a gentle disposition; 'simple as a child, he knew he was marching to his death; still he affected no more courage than he felt, but owned and made a joke of his fears. The flesh was weak, but the will was strong, and in the depths of his soul he loved the danger that he contemplated so clearly, and deliberately courted the self-sacrifice.'† On the journey we are told that it was his custom to say Mass very early every morning, and

* Simpson, p. 100. † Ibid. p. 107.

then, after reciting the 'Itinerarium' with the rest, to ride on in advance in order to meditate alone for a few hours, and read his Breviary and other prayers; after which he allowed the party to overtake him, and conversed cheerfully with them till it was time to push forward again for his evening meditation and prayer. At Milan the travellers were hospitably entertained by St. Charles Borromeo, who kept them in his palace for eight days, during which he used to make Father Campion discourse on theological subjects every day after dinner. The heart of the holy archbishop warmed towards those whom he regarded as future confessors and martyrs for the faith, and after the departure of Campion and his party he wrote to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College in Rome, to assure him of the happiness he should experience if allowed to perform the same duties of hospitality towards any other English priests who might be passing through Milan.

Father Parsons, in his account of the journey, makes frequent mention of Father Campion's 'continual pains, fastings, and penances,' and 'austere and laborious life.' After much fatigue and many adventures, amongst which were some amusing discussions with the Calvinist ministers at Geneva, the little band of missionaries reached Rheims on the last day of May. They were warmly welcomed by Dr. Allen and his students, who had lately removed to Rheims from Douai; and it is pleasant to mark the cordial affection that existed between the secular priests of the English Seminary and the Society of Jesus. From the outset the Jesuits had been the most energetic supporters of Allen's foundation, and the first certain revenue it received was fifty crowns a month, sent from Rome by Father Possevinus, by order of the Father General. On his part, Dr. Allen regarded the Society with deep affection, and when any of his students left the college to enter the Jesuit novitiate he cordially rejoiced over their religious vocation.

After a short rest at Rheims the travellers divided into small parties, in order to land in England more easily. These precautions were of the utmost necessity, for by means of its

spies in Rome, and of the letters that its agents had intercepted, the English Government had been duly informed of the names, number, and appearance of the missionaries, the date of their departure, and that of their probable arrival in England. Father Cottam, a Jesuit and a future martyr, joined them at Rheims; and while some went to Dieppe, Abbeville, Boulogne, or Dunquerque to seek favourable opportunities for embarking, Parsons and Campion, with the faithful lay-brother Ralph Emerson, proceeded to St. Omer, whence Parsons departed alone, disguised as a soldier, embarked at Calais, and reached Dover in safety on the 11th of June. He pursued his journey unmolested to London, where he was received by George Gilbert, a young squire of high rank and ample fortune, distinguished for his handsome person and singularly noble and generous character. He had renounced all worldly prospects in order to devote himself and all he possessed to the service of the missionary priests; and Father Parsons had special claims on his affection, as he had been the means some years before of completing his conversion to the Catholic faith.*

On the 24th of June, Father Campion, having heard of the safe arrival of Parsons, sailed from Calais with Brother Ralph. Disguised as a merchant of jewels, he landed at Dover before daylight, and, falling on his knees behind a great rock, he fervently recommended his missionary career to God, disposed to live or to die according to His divine will.

Gilbert was ready to receive him in London, and on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul we find him preaching to a number of Catholics in a house hired for the purpose near Smithfield, while some gentlemen kept guard all round for fear of the pursuivants.

In spite of the peril to which they were exposed—for not a day passed that some Catholic was not apprehended—the Jesuits, with the gravest of the priests then in London, met in a little house in Southwark, to deliberate on various disputed points of morals and discipline. It was on this occasion that, in reply to the report that their object in coming to England

* *Jesuits in Conflict*, by H. Foley, S.J.

was political, the two fathers made solemn oaths that their mission was simply and purely religious.

We must now take leave of the English missionaries for a time and return to Rome, where the Father General, Everard Mercurian, was approaching the end of his long career. The creation of a mission of the Society in England was his last important act; he died a few months afterwards, on the 1st of August 1580, at an advanced age. At this period there were scattered through the world over 5000 members of the Order, and 110 houses, divided among twenty-one provinces.

Father Mercurian is the author of the abridgment of the rules of the Society, which bears the name of *Summary of the Constitutions.*

CHAPTER IX.

Father Claudius Aquaviva, Fifth General of the Society, 1581-1615.

THE SOCIETY IN SPAIN, ITALY, AND GERMANY.

We have now reached a period of momentous interest and singular importance in the history of the Society of Jesus. During the thirty-four years that Claudius Aquaviva was General of the Society the Jesuits found themselves taking a part in almost every event, political and religious, that happened in Europe. They were to be seen in courts and camps, among the Ligueurs of France, and by the side of the weak Henry III.; treating, in the name of the Holy See, with the half-civilized Czar of Muscovy, preparing the abjuration of Henry IV. and his accession to the French throne; and, at the same time, actively engaged in the theological contests between the two great schools of Molinists and Thomists. Never, perhaps, was the influence of the Society so great in the religious and social world; and this was the result of the holy lives of its members, of the eminence attained by them in every branch of knowledge, and also, in no small degree, of the remarkable character of the General of the Institute. Though, even from a human point of view, a glorious epoch in the annals of the Order, the generalate of Claudius Aquaviva was deeply marked with the Cross, which St. Ignatius had desired for his sons. If the Jesuits were to be seen by the side of kings and princes, they were also, and far more frequently, to be found in the torture-chambers or on the gibbets of England, or among the hardships and perils of India and Brazil. Their untiring activity embraced every labour, and never was the watchword of the Institute, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam,' more energetically carried out. Neither persecutions, tortures, calumnies, nor the more

dangerous snares of court favour and popularity could weaken its extraordinary vital power.

Claudius Aquaviva, who was destined to guide the bark of the Society through a long and stormy navigation, fraught with perils innumerable, came of a noble Roman family. He was the son of John Aquaviva, Duke of Atri, and of Isabella Spinola, and was born in February 1543. He entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-four, and joyfully sacrificed the splendid prospects to which his birth, his intellect, handsome person, and spotless name entitled him to aspire. A few months after his entrance into the novitiate he was intrusted with the care of St. Stanislas Kostka, when the latter, who had lately arrived in Rome, went through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The remembrance of the boy-saint never left Aquaviva, and in after years, when he became General of the Society, it was he who took the first steps towards the canonization of his fellow-novice by ordering judicial testimony to be collected from all those who had known him. When the electors went to Rome, on the death of Father Mercurian, to choose his successor, Father James Tirius, well known by his learned Commentaries on the Scriptures, stopped in Paris, and there saw Father Thomas Darbyshire,* a venerable English confessor of the faith, who asked him if he knew a young father named Claudius. 'Yes,' replied Father Tirius, 'I know Claudius Aquaviva. Have you any message you wish me to take to him?' Then Father Darbyshire related that the previous night, as he was praying earnestly for the success of the election, our Lady had appeared to him, and had seemed to lead him into a large hall where the fathers were assembled: taking by the hand a young father named Claudius, she had designated him to the others as the future General. This prediction was fulfilled, and on the 19th of February 1581, Aquaviva was raised to a position of which his

* Father Thomas Darbyshire was imprisoned for the faith under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and subsequently banished from the kingdom. He died in 1604 at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson, where he enjoyed great celebrity as a professor.

great talents and singular holiness rendered him eminently worthy. Historians have described his noble countenance, piercing eyes, calm and grave exterior, while his own sons have written lovingly of his fatherly kindness. Father Ribera, who was always with him, says: 'Our Father General shows so perfectly in all his actions the gentleness and prudence required by the charge the Lord has given him that he seems to belong to every one. The labours and sufferings of others become his own labours and sufferings. . . .'* He was especially kind to those by whom he had been offended. Qualities apparently of the most opposite nature were united in him, and combined to form a rare and most beautiful character. At once energetic and conciliating, gentle and severe, diplomatic and frank, uncompromising and tender, personally the most humble of men, dignified and majestic in his position as General of the Order,—he possessed, like St. Ignatius, a special gift for organization, and the famous *Ratio Studiorum* remains as one of his strongest claims to the admiring love of the Society.†

Shortly after the election of the new General, on the 15th of August 1583, Gregory XIII. consecrated the splendid church of the Gesù, given to the Order by Cardinal Alexander Farnese. Throughout his reign the Pope proved himself a firm friend to the Jesuits; he repeatedly approved their Constitutions by different decrees; and the very year before his death, 1584, he gave them a supreme and solemn sanction by the Bull 'Ascendente Domino.' He was succeeded on the pontifical throne by the celebrated Sextus V., who, like St. Peter himself, rose from a lowly station to the highest dignity in Christendom. As Felix Peretti, he had watched over his father's flocks on the Campagna of Rome; as Sextus V., he astonished the world by his boldness and strength of mind, inflexible firmness, and indomitable energy.

* *Histoire du Père Ribadeneira*, par le P. Prat, S.J.

† 'La Société des Jésuites est redevable à Aquaviva plus qu'à tout autre de ce régime si bien conçu et si sage, qu'on peut appeler le chef-d'œuvre de l'industrie humaine en fait de politique, et qui a contribué pendant deux cent ans à l'agrandissement et à la gloire de cet Ordre' (D'Alembert, *Sur la Destruction des Jésuites*).

In course of time it will be seen, indeed, how his strong prejudices were brought to bear upon the Society of Jesus, and how it needed all Father Aquaviva's wisdom to conciliate the deference due to the Vicar of Christ with the duty he owed to the Institute intrusted to his guardianship.

The first acts of the new Pope were, however, favourable to the Jesuits, to whose care he committed his recently-established Maronite Seminary, and to whom he granted a jubilee when their missionaries first entered China.

Ere long, unfortunately, differences arose among the Spanish Jesuits, which, besides being in themselves injurious to the welfare of the Order, ultimately led to difficulties between the Father General and the Pope.

From the day of Aquaviva's election secret feelings of discontent had been entertained by a few of the Spanish fathers, who wished the General to be a countryman of their own; but, until 1586, these feelings had been manifested by no outward sign. At that date, however, Father Francis Hernandez, being desirous of leaving the Order, stated to the General the different reasons which prompted him to this step; and, irritated because Aquaviva did not judge his motives to be sufficient, he abruptly left the Society, and, in a moment of irritation, went to the Inquisitors of Valladolid to accuse Father Marcenius, his Provincial, of having concealed some horrible crimes, of which one of his brethren had been guilty. The Inquisitors, from the foundation of the Society, had regarded it with some little jealousy on account of the privileges it enjoyed, and now, on the strength of the assertion of Hernandez, the papers of the Order were seized and Father Marcenius arrested. To these first accusations were added those of a Dominican monk, Diego Peredo, a disciple of the Society's old enemy, Melchior Canus, and who, a few years before, had attacked some practices of the Jesuits in his public lectures of theology at the University of Avila. Amongst other things he had declared that the vows made by the novices at the end of two years' probation were in no way binding. At the request of Aquaviva, Gregory XIII., by his Bull 'Quanto fructuosius'

in 1582, had confirmed anew the Constitutions and privileges of the Society, and decided that the simple vows made after the novitiate are binding as well as the solemn ones. Although condemned by the Pope and disowned by his own Order, Peredo persisted in his attacks; and a little later, by a new Bull, 'Ascendente Domino,' Gregory XIII. was obliged to threaten with severe penalties those who should continue to attack the Society in defiance of the previous decree. But even this did not silence Peredo; and when Father Hernandez denounced his Provincial, he, on his side, laid his own list of accusations before the Inquisitors. Another Spanish Jesuit, Father Dionysius Vasquez, a man of undoubted talent, but headstrong and impetuous, joined his complaints to those of Hernandez; he had been irritated by the election of an Italian as General, and wished to render the Spanish Province of the Society independent under a Superior-General of its own.

In this emergency Aquaviva sent Father Francis Porri to explain matters to Philip II., who manifested a keen interest in the affairs of the Society, and, at the same time, he obtained from the Pope that the Inquisitors should suspend their proceedings, and that the affair should be referred solely to Rome. The Inquisitors, regretting the haste with which they had acted, declared Father Marcenius and his companions innocent of all the charges brought against them, and caused the documents connected with the trial to be forwarded to the Pope. So far all was well; but the plan suggested by Father Vasquez of having an independent Superior for the Spanish Province of the Society had unfortunately been highly approved by Philip II. Although sincerely attached to the Order, some of whose members he had just sent out as chaplains with the famous Armada, the king desired to have supreme control over its affairs in his kingdom; he also had resented the election of an Italian as General, and was resolved that the Spanish fathers should be withdrawn from under his rule. Such an arrangement must have been destructive to the existence of the Society. Father Parsons, whose name is so familiar to English ears, was sent by Aquaviva to convince Philip II. of its impossibility,

and, after some time, succeeded in doing so. Father Vasquez, who had been one of the chief causes of these difficulties, died some years later, in 1589, bitterly regretting his rebellion, and begging pardon of the Society.

These differences, however, did not impede the progress of the Jesuits in Spain, where several new colleges were opened about this time; but they had the deplorable effect of suggesting to Sextus V. the thought of introducing certain modifications into the Constitutions. He began by ordering them to be thoroughly examined; and then signified to Aquaviva his resolution to make considerable changes on various points, such as the name of the Order, its different grades, the time of profession, and the vows of obedience and poverty.

Father Aquaviva, to whose hands as General the integrity of the Constitutions had been committed, felt that no effort should be spared to preserve them intact. With a firmness equal to that of the Pope, but tempered by the utmost deference, he went over the disputed points one by one, and showed how the proposed modifications, especially on the subject of poverty, attacked the very essence of the Institute, and must inevitably cause its destruction. At the same time, letters reached him from the Emperor Rudolph, from Sigismund, King of the Romans; William, Duke of Bavaria; and many Bishops and princes, all of whom urged him to resist any attempt at innovation, and expressed their deep regret that a legislation, the value of which had been successfully tested for the last forty years, should be exposed to arbitrary changes. This opposition had the effect of confirming the Pope in his resolution; and at times it was with difficulty the Father General could repress the expression of discontent which the contemplated changes excited in the hearts of some members of the Order. To Father Forster, who complained that the Pope had sent the Archduke Charles of Austria a manifesto hostile to the Society, he wrote thus: 'He who dictated the Brief is our head and our pastor; he loves us; but he wishes to humble us. The wounds inflicted by one who loves us thus are more useful to our interests than if, by sparing us too

much, he were to make us yield to pride. Let us pray for him.'*

In spite of the remonstrances addressed to him by princes and prelates, of Aquaviva's respectful and sorrowing resistance, of his own great age and increasing infirmities, Sextus V. pursued his project. The Cardinals, however, were far from supporting him; and they declined to sanction the violent censures which four theologians, devoted to the Pope's views, pronounced against the different points of the Constitutions under discussion. Irritated at an opposition to which he was little accustomed, the Pontiff decided to act solely on his own authority. He was particularly determined to suppress the name of the Society of Jesus. 'Who are these fathers?' he used to say, 'whom it is impossible to name without baring one's head?' The Cardinals made a last unsuccessful effort to shake his resolution, and his intentions were formally signified to Aquaviva, who submitted to a necessity which he deplored, but which duty forbade him to resist.

The Pope, however, feared that the princes, who had so strongly manifested their disapproval of his views with regard to the Society, should accuse him of acting despotically; and he resolved to remove the odium from himself by causing it to seem that the proposed changes were made at the request of the Jesuits themselves. For this purpose he desired the General to present a paper, having the appearance of a petition, to demand the modifications, which were in reality imposed by his inflexible will. It was a last sacrifice demanded by obedience, and Aquaviva did not hesitate. He drew up the paper, signed it, and carried it to the Pope. But nine days later, on the 27th of August 1590, Sextus V., exhausted by age and illness, breathed his last; and the paper signed by Aquaviva was found in his desk, and was cancellel by Gregory XIV. Thus passed away the tempest which, though at first it threatened materially to injure the Institute of St. Ignatius, left it untouched, and served only to display in a more striking manner the holy General's obedience and abnegation.

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 275.

Urban VII., the successor of Sextus, only reigned thirteen days; after him, on the 5th of December 1590, Gregory XIV. ascended the Papal throne; and one of his first acts was to confirm to the Society, by a solemn Bull, the name of which it had so nearly been deprived. The next Pope, Clement VIII., resolved to bestow a cardinal's hat on the celebrated Father Toletus, renowned for his labours in the cause of religion. It may be remembered that, under the government of St. Francis Borgia, he had been, although very young, intrusted with important missions. Gregory XIII. thus described him: 'We affirm that, of all men now living on earth, Toletus is the most learned; but we must add that he is still more distinguished for his integrity and virtue than for his learning.' It was in vain that both Aquaviva and Father Toletus himself entreated Clement VIII. to spare a member of the Society a dignity which by his vows he had renounced; the Pope insisted, and, under pain of mortal sin, Toletus was constrained to submit; but only a year afterwards, in 1594, we find him vainly imploring permission to return to the obscurity of his religious life.

In the times of which we write, the cause of religion was so interwoven with politics that ecclesiastics were constrained by the force of circumstances to mix more or less in affairs of state; and thence it arises that the Jesuits and members of other religious orders are often found acting in a political capacity.

While the occurrences to which we have alluded were passing in Rome, the Society throughout the rest of Europe was taking part in many events of great importance. Father Possevinus, who, during the government of Father Everard Mercurian, had been sent to Sweden, was now intrusted with a diplomatic mission to Iwan Basilowicz, Czar of Russia. After having conquered Astrakan and Cassan the Czar had turned his armies westward; but he found his victorious career abruptly checked by Stephen Bathory, the chivalrous King of Poland, who, after defeating him in several engagements, drove him back towards the wild steppes of his half-civilized empire. Threatened with the loss of his crown, Iwan appealed to the

Pope, for whom he knew Bathory's devotion and respect, and demanded that an envoy might be sent from Rome to make peace for him with the victorious Catholic sovereign. In this appeal, which was prompted by self-interest and conducted with cunning policy, Gregory XIII. saw a possible opportunity of introducing the true faith into Russia, and, perhaps, of obtaining for Catholic missionaries a free passage to India through Central Asia; he therefore appointed Father Possevinus to act as negotiator between the rival princes, and invested him with unlimited powers. The Jesuit envoy left Rome in the spring of 1581; he was the bearer of a Papal Brief, dated March 1581, in which he is styled 'Anthony Possevinus, priest and theologian of the Society of Jesus, a man of tried wisdom and fidelity . . .' His first station was at Vilna, where he had an interview with the Polish king; his next at Staritza, where Basilowicz, who regarded him as the arbiter of his fate, received him with extraordinary honours on the 8th of August 1581. It must have been a strange scene when the Jesuit ambassador, in his plain black cassock, was solemnly presented to the Muscovite prince, who awaited him, seated on a royal throne, clad in a long robe of cloth-of-gold, studded with pearls and diamonds, and surrounded with the half-barbaric splendour characteristic of his nation. The negotiation undertaken by Possevinus was fraught with many difficulties. Between Iwan's duplicity and barbarism and Stephen's warlike temper he had a part to play where wisdom and prudence were much needed. While striving to secure the rival interests intrusted to him, his first thought was for the welfare of religion and the extension of the Christian faith, and above the diplomacy of the ambassador we find the apostolic zeal of the Jesuit missionary. At length, on the 15th of January 1582, a treaty of peace, the result of the efforts of Possevinus, was signed near Porchov between the two princes; and the Polish and Russian envoys alike sealed the convention by kissing the crucifix in the Jesuit's hands.

Possevinus then proceeded to Moscow, with the hope of bringing about an union between the Greek and Latin Churches;

he had several conferences with the czar, whose cruel and violent temper seemed strangely subdued in his presence; but, partly through the machinations of the Protestants, whose envoys were sent to hamper his efforts, he failed to accomplish the reconciliation he so earnestly desired. However, though Iwan refused to submit to the teaching of Rome, he loaded her envoy with rich presents, and was greatly surprised when Possevinus distributed them all to the poor.

The Jesuit's next task was, by order of Gregory XIII., to strengthen and guide Stephen Bathory in his struggle against the numerous heretical sects, whose errors and dissensions disturbed the kingdom. He was present at the Diet of Warsaw in 1583, and a little later he was chosen to settle some difficulties that had arisen between the King of Poland and the Emperor Rudolph.

Among the sovereigns of the period who gloried in being the friends and protectors of the Society of Jesus, Stephen Bathory occupies a prominent position, and his efforts in its behalf were not confined to his own kingdom. We find him, for instance, writing to Queen Elizabeth to intercede for Father James Bosgrave, an English Jesuit, who, after spending many years in Poland, had returned to England for his health, and had there been arrested and condemned to death. After asking, as a personal favour, that this father, for whom he professed great esteem, might be restored to the University of Vilna, Stephen proceeds to give the English queen a lesson in justice and toleration, which can have been scarcely pleasing to the despotic Elizabeth. He says: 'We do not doubt that your highness for your good-will to us will give this man up to us, and will not allow that, while your subjects are free to profess any religion whatever in our kingdom, our religion should be a capital offence in yours; and we hope that in a short time the royal clemency and goodness of your majesty will set all Catholics free, and do at once a most humane act, and one that will be most gratifying to us.'* It is pleasant to learn that Father Bosgrave, in whose behalf this letter was

* *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, Second Series.

written, was eventually set free, and returned to Poland, where he ended his days.

But although the friendship manifested towards the Society by the chivalrous Polish king gave him a particular claim to the services of its members, the position occupied by Father Possevinus was an exceptional one, and one which Aquaviva would gladly have avoided. In this, as in many other instances, the General was forced to yield his opinion to those in authority over him; and it was by the express command of the Pope that Possevinus had been invested with his diplomatic missions. The confidence thus reposed in him deeply irritated the heretics, who were alarmed at seeing a member of an Order so peculiarly hostile to them acting as the chosen arbiter between the most powerful monarchs of Europe in matters where their own interests were continually under discussion. The father was attacked with violence, and calumnies of the grossest description pursued him during the whole course of his eventful career. These Aquaviva was ready to endure patiently; his chief anxiety was lest so large an amount of responsibility and honour as that enjoyed by Possevinus should at length become dangerous to the spiritual condition of one whose vows obliged him to a life of poverty and humility; and he spared no pains to induce the Pope to deliver the father from the diplomatic missions intrusted to him. After repeated attempts he at length succeeded; and the ready obedience and simplicity with which the Jesuit abdicated his unsought honours showed that his Superior had judged him rightly when he wrote of him to Gregory XIII.: 'It is not for Father Possevinus that I fear the applause of the world; his virtue is known to me; but there is a peril for the Society, from which I beg your Holiness to deliver us.'

He who had been the arbiter between kings and emperors began with the same earnestness as he had displayed in his higher employments to evangelize poor country villages in Saxony, Hungary, and Bohemia. Later on, he was sent as professor to the University of Padua, where among his pupils he numbered St. Francis of Sales.

During this time the Society was making rapid progress in Poland, Transylvania, and Livonia; new colleges sprang up in every direction; whole populations corrupted by Lutheranism were restored to the true faith. To theological learning and controversial skill the Jesuits united heroic charity, and when the plague made its appearance in Transylvania, out of thirty fathers belonging to the province twenty died in the service of the sick. Protestant historians themselves have been obliged to recognise the powerful influence which the Society exercised at this period, and the valuable services it rendered to the Catholic cause. Dr. Leopold Ranke, in his *History of the Popes*,* draws a spirited picture of its apostolic labours and widespread influence for good, and thereby fully justifies the assertion of Catholic writers that it is to the indefatigable zeal of the Jesuit missionaries that Poland, Austria, and the Rhine provinces owe the preservation of the faith. Contemporary histories show at the cost of what suffering and persecution this precious result was obtained, and how in the sixteenth, as in the nineteenth, century the Order of Jesus was ever the object of calumnies, generally so violent as to become absurd. The accusations brought against its members were both numerous and varied; in Poland they were charged with setting fire to the Protestant churches, with turning their colleges into fortifications, and preaching sedition and immorality, while in Belgium we find them accused of an attempt at regicide. Under the Duke of Parma, who governed the Low Countries in the name of Philip II., the Society had enjoyed comparative peace and protection, and houses and colleges had been founded in Belgium, Flanders, and Holland, in spite of the opposition of the Lutherans. But in 1598 a plot was discovered against the life of Count Maurice of Nassau, chief of the Protestant party. The would-be assassin was named Pierre Paune; he had a cousin who was servant at the Jesuits' house at Douai. This was deemed sufficient; the fathers were accused of having instigated the crime, and Paune was promised

* *Hist. de la Papauté pendant les* 16*me et* 17*me Siècles*, par L. Ranke, trad. Haller.

life and liberty if he would incriminate them. He accepted the proposal; but afterwards, upon seeing that in spite of his false denunciations his death was certain, he retracted all his accusations and fully exculpated the Jesuits, who, undismayed by the charges brought against them, had in the mean time founded new houses at Cambrai, Tournai, Aire, Hesdin, Walten, Dinart, Bar-le-Duc, Malines, and Namur. The blood of their martyrs seemed to increase the fruit of their labours. In 1600 three Jesuits were murdered by Dutch Protestants while tending the wounded at the siege of Ostend; and in 1598 Father Laterna was drowned by Lutheran corsairs.

During this period the Society of Jesus in France was inevitably mixed up in the long and bloody religious wars that distracted the kingdom, but to these events a separate chapter must be devoted. About the same time the Venetian fathers were suffering banishment for their attachment to Rome.

Fra Paolo Sarpi, a Servite monk, born at Venice in 1552, and who, after joining the German heretics, had conceived a violent hatred towards Rome, subsequently acquired great influence in the senate of his native city; and at his instigation the magistrates imprisoned two priests, who were accused of sorcery and other crimes. According to the recognised laws of the period the accused should have been judged before an ecclesiastical, and not a civil, tribunal, and Paul V., on his accession to the Papal throne in 1605, demanded that the prisoners should be delivered over to the Nuncio, in order that their case might be examined by the ecclesiastical judges, who alone were competent to deal in the matter. Encouraged by Fra Paolo, who wished to create a schism at Venice by involving the magistrates in a quarrel with Rome, the senate refused to obey; and Paul V., after patiently waiting for seven months, excommunicated the senate and laid the republic under interdict. Although severe measures were taken to prevent the publication of the Papal Brief, it became known at Venice, and the senators endeavoured to annul its effects in a decree, by which all priests and religious were commanded, under pain of exile, to disregard the sentence and to continue

their religious services, as though no interdict lay upon the republic.

Placed between the alternative of disobeying Rome or incurring banishment and confiscation, the Jesuits did not hesitate; they had been prominent in supporting the rights of the Pope throughout, and though religious of other orders and many priests imitated their resistance, and eventually shared their fate, it was upon them that the first blow fell. Besides their well-known devotion to the Holy See, the great influence they possessed at Venice made them more especially objects of fear and dislike to the rebellious magistrates, who, when they found that neither threats nor persuasions could induce the fathers to disobey the Brief, ordered the sentence of exile to be rigorously carried out. The 'Annual Letters' of the Society tell us how towards evening on the 10th of May 1606 the Jesuits said the Litanies together in their church for the last time, and then embarked in gondolas under military escort, while their numerous friends stood by in tears. They had been forbidden to take anything with them except their Breviaries, but they carried their crucifixes round their necks 'to show that Christ was with them.'

In order to destroy as far as possible the impression produced by the fathers' fidelity and sufferings, Fra Paolo spread the vilest calumnies about them, and the senate forbade any person in the Venetian territory to correspond with a member of the Society, under pain of banishment and severe fines. Henry IV., who in the mean time had succeeded to the French throne, was deeply irritated at the unjust treatment experienced by the Venetian Jesuits; he would not allow the ambassador of the republic to assist at any of the religious ceremonies of the court, regarding him as excommunicated; and he also gave strict orders that the sale of Fra Paolo Sarpi's works should be stopped in Paris.

About a year later, in April 1607, the republic of Venice made its submission to Rome; but as it still refused to allow the Jesuits to return, Paul V. wished to press the point, and to insist upon the exiled fathers being restored to their posses-

sions. With the disinterestedness that characterized him Father Aquaviva persuaded the Pontiff not to make the Society a further cause of discord, and to wait patiently for better times; and it was not till fifty years later that the Jesuits were recalled by the Venetian Government.

While in France, Italy, Germany, and England the Society of Jesus found itself more or less entangled in the political events of the day, its theologians were engaged in the great discussion of the Molinist and Thomist schools. It would be impossible to examine the details of this long and complicated question, with all its subtle meanings and endless details. A brief sketch of facts must suffice.

Father Luis de Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, born at Cuença in 1535, wrote a book called *De Concordia Gratiæ et liberi Arbitrii*, which, though it excited great admiration among many theologians, was denounced at Rome by the Dominicans, who asserted that, in treating the question of grace, Molina attributed too much power to the free-will of man, and so derogated from the attributes of God. An animated controversy ensued between the theologians of the two orders, each of whom claimed to follow the teaching of St. Thomas. Clement VIII., the reigning Pope, appeared to incline to the Dominican view; but by a decree dated the 26th of August 1606 his successor, Paul V., declared that each party was free to profess its own opinions, and was to abstain from passing censure on the other until the Holy See should pronounce a definite sentence. The matter was left thus, until in later times it was revived by the Jansenists.

CHAPTER X.

Father Claudius Aquaviva, Fifth General of the Society.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND THE LEAGUE.

It was in France especially that the members of the Society of Jesus at this period were obliged by the force of circumstances to take part in important public events. With the confusion which reigned throughout the kingdom, and the conflicting interests at stake, it was at times difficult for a Catholic, and especially for a religious attached to the true welfare of his country, to shape his course among the contending parties.

As has been seen, for the last forty years France had been a prey to civil and religious strife, and by degrees the increasing boldness and power of the Huguenots, combined with the wavering and deceitful policy of the court, thoroughly awakened the fears of all sincere Catholics. No reliance could be placed upon the king, Henry III., or on those by whom he was surrounded; weak and faithless, he was but a tool in the hands of ambitious and unprincipled men, and though he had no direct intention of sacrificing his religion, he was so feeble and irresolute as to be unable to defend it. The Huguenots, whose power daily increased, were both tyrannical and unpatriotic; they refused, when sufficiently powerful, all liberty of conscience to their opponents, and in many instances united themselves to the enemies of France to carry war and destruction over the fertile plains of their unhappy country.

It was in this state of things, when all that sincere Catholics most valued was at stake, that the death of the king's only surviving brother, the Duke of Alençon, came to complicate matters still more. Henry III., being himself childless, immediately recognized as his successor Henry of Bourbon, King of

Navarre, a Protestant, and the head of the Huguenot party in France. In direct descent he was legal successor to the crown, and, except for the religion he professed and the active part he had taken in the civil wars, he would have ascended the throne; but these circumstances rendered his succession exceedingly unpopular with the majority of the nation.

The future of France as a Catholic country hung upon the single life of the last Valois king, and, in order to guard the crown of the *fleurs de lys* from the taint of heresy, the Catholics determined to reject the succession of Henry of Navarre. Some years previously they had combined to form a defensive alliance, to which they had given the name of the 'Sainte Ligue,' or 'Sainte Union;' but it was only in 1585, when the King of Navarre was declared heir presumptive, that the League was thoroughly organized, and assumed a decided political importance. Its leader was the Duke of Guise, head of the illustrious house of Lorraine, and son of the unfortunate duke who had been murdered by the Calvinist Poltrot. He was young, chivalrous, and a brilliant military commander; and in 1575 he had received at the battle of Fisme the wound in his face whence he derived the appellation of 'Le Balafré.'

The recognised object of the League was to defend the interests of religion against the encroachments of Protestantism, and against the unlawful concessions of the king. Under ordinary circumstances its existence would have been an act bordering on rebellion, professing as it did to control or oppose the actions of the sovereign; but the present case was a peculiar one. The principle upon which the 'Sainte Alliance' was founded placed the interests of God before that of man, and made known to the people that the changes which might take place in human affairs could not lawfully be permitted as regarded religion.

Before resorting to extreme measures the chiefs of the League represented to the king that the accession of a Protestant prince to the throne would be subversive of religion, and consequently in direct opposition to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. At the same time they called upon him to fulfil

the promise he had formerly made at Blois, that the Catholic faith should alone be the acknowledged religion of the country. To these demands Henry only returned evasive replies, and attempted to dissolve the 'Sainte Alliance;' whereupon hostilities immediately commenced, and the League proposed the aged Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle to the king, as the future sovereign of France. As it was evident that the question must be decided by the sword, it became necessary that the 'Ligueurs' should seek for assistance outside their own country. The Huguenots had already received considerable aid from Elizabeth of England and the German Protestants, and their adversaries now sought help from Rome and Spain.

Pope Sextus V. made no secret of his predilection for the League, although he declined to make a formal declaration in its favour, and lost no opportunity of reminding its partisans of the obedience due from subjects to their sovereign. Philip II. embraced the cause with greater determination, and also from less disinterested motives; and in December 1584 he signed a treaty binding himself to support the French Catholics, and, in the event of the king's death, to recognise the Cardinal de Bourbon as his legitimate successor. Under the circumstances above stated, strengthened by the tacit approval of the Pope and the open support of the King of Spain, the banner of the League appeared, in the eyes of the majority of the Catholics, as the only one under which they could in conscience range themselves. Bishops, priests, religious, eagerly embraced its cause, and some portion of the Society of Jesus caught the general enthusiasm. The essentially Catholic spirit, which gave to the 'Sainte Union' the appearance of a crusade against heresy, was well calculated to attract men of a devout and energetic character. The half-religious, half-military life, with its perilous missions among camps or on battle-fields, where the enthusiasm of the preacher was sustained by that of his hearers, and by the thought of the martyr's crown suspended above his head, appealed strongly to the militant spirit which the Society of Jesus inherited from its founder. Among the Jesuits who joined the League several were remarkable for

their talent as ambassadors, and they were often employed in this capacity. Perhaps the best known of these were Claude Mathieu and Henri Sammier. The first was a native of Lorraine, and had filled the post of Provincial of Paris. Among his contemporaries he obtained the surname of 'Courrier de la Ligue,' from the many journeys he undertook for the purpose of inducing Pope Gregory XIII. to declare himself openly in favour of the Union, while Father Sammier was employed on similar missions in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

But however useful the services of the fathers might prove to the Catholic cause, their proceedings were regarded with anxiety by the General, who dreaded the effect which political excitement might produce upon the members of the Society, when carried beyond the sphere of action to which their duties as religious were confined. In a letter addressed to Sextus V., shortly after the election of the latter to the pontifical throne, he says, 'It is necessary for the glory of God and the salvation of souls that the Society should not only abstain from mixing in any political affairs, but that it should be above the suspicion of doing so.'* And this line of conduct he always strictly followed himself, notwithstanding the many solicitations to the contrary; but it was not always an easy task to impress it upon others. Sextus V. could not enter into his feelings, and he peremptorily refused the General's request that the members of the Society should be forbidden to take part in political affairs. Under these circumstances Aquaviva could not enforce his own views; but he never let an occasion pass of making them known. In a letter addressed to the Provincial of France he says: 'As regards the other subjects of this letter, point out to the king (Henry III.) how decidedly the Constitutions of the Society forbid its members to take part in the administration of temporal affairs. Should any one of the Order have infringed this rule, let the king name him; he shall not remain unpunished.'

In 1585, upon hearing that Father Mathieu, who had been

* *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 322. *L'Université et les Jésuites*, Pontal, 1877.

replaced as Provincial by Father Odon Pigenat, had been commanded by the king to retire to his native province of Lorraine, Aquaviva eagerly seized the opportunity, and sent him strict directions not again to take part in politics without his express permission. Father Mathieu was willing to obey; but, towards the end of 1585, the princes of Lorraine obliged him to go to Rome on an embassy to the Pope. He set out on his journey, and on the 27th of February 1586 reached Loretto, where he found a letter from the Father General, which remains a perfect model of tact and moderation, combined with patient and firm authority. On account of the decided tone taken by the Pope and by the princes of Lorraine, it was impossible absolutely to oblige Father Mathieu to give up the embassy intrusted to him; but, after expressing his desires on the subject, Aquaviva leaves the decision to the father's own judgment, and events proved that he had judged aright. After mentioning that on the previous day the Cardinal de Sens had come to him on behalf of the chiefs of the League to request that Father Mathieu might be authorized by his Superior to continue his political mission, the General continues: 'I endeavoured to prove to him, by several reasons, that I could not consent to this, because these matters are outside our Institute.... The Cardinal seemed wounded at my reply, and said that in France the princes (of Lorraine) would hear of it with displeasure, and that thereby we should forfeit their protection. Although I have some difficulty to believe this, knowing as I do their prudence and their love for the Society, it seems to me that it would be well for your reverence to write to them, in order that you may henceforth be delivered from similar causes of anxiety, and for you to show them how prejudicial it might be to the service of God and to the Society that your reverence should at the present moment return to France.... Beg them to leave you in peace, and not to make the Society odious, not only in France, but in the eyes of other princes.... I should wish you to write to the Cardinal for the same purpose, endeavouring, as best you can, to make him accept your reasons. It was most painful to us

to displease a prelate of so much merit and so devoted to the Society, and more especially in an affair where he was prompted solely by zeal and desire for the glory of God. Nothing should make us lose sight of the welfare of our Institute; for the Lord will demand from us an account of our government; but He will not expect us to render an account of matters which He has not intrusted to us.'*

A few kind words of interest in Father Mathieu's health conclude the letter, and the 'Courrier de la Ligue' quickly understood and unhesitatingly obeyed the order, veiled under his Superior's gentle and guarded language. Bidding adieu to the camps and councils, where he had played so prominent a part, he condemned himself to an obscurity more trying to his restless spirit than the hardest labour; and fifteen months later he died at Loretto, the scene of his voluntary retirement.

Although in general the sympathies of the French Jesuits were with the League, where, according to the Mathieu historian of Henry IV., 'they preached with more order, gravity, and moderation than other religious,'† yet there were some exceptions, and among these was the famous Father Edmond Auger, justly regarded as the most learned and eloquent preacher of the day, and surnamed 'the Chrysostom of France.' Henry III. had always entertained friendly feelings towards the Jesuits, and was deeply irritated that so many among them should have taken part with those whom he regarded as his enemies; and he demanded that Father Auger, who for some time had acted as his confessor, should remain at his court and publicly adhere to his cause. This was granted, and the 'Chrysostom of France' remained loyally by the side of the weak monarch, whom he vainly strove to inspire with some of that energy which distinguished the chiefs of the League. His position was, however, a very painful one; he was not, like those of his brethren who had joined the 'Sainte Union,' ex-

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 323.

† *Nouvelles Considérations sur la Society des Jésuites*, Versailles, 1817. 'Les Jésuites Ligueures,' par P. Colombier, S.J. (*Etudes rel., ph., hist., et litt.*, Mai 1874).

posed to the hardships and perils of the battle-field; but his office at court isolated him in great measure from his fellow-religious, and caused him to be regarded with suspicion by the Catholic party generally; from the Father General alone he met with perfect understanding and sympathy.

Meantime the war was carried on with more or less energy, the balance of success being on the whole in favour of the Catholics. An army of German Protestants, on its way to join the Huguenots, was cut to pieces by the Duke of Guise; but, on the 20th of October 1587, the royal troops, commanded by the king's favourite, the Duke of Joyeuse, were defeated at Contras by the Protestant forces under Henry of Navarre. This disaster exasperated the Ligueurs, who attributed it solely to the weakness and incapacity of the court party, and in Paris especially the tide of indignation and anger ran high. The discontented feelings of the inhabitants were fomented by the Committee of the 'Seize,' composed of magistrates, representing the sixteen quarters of the city, until they found full expression in the attack upon the royal troops on the 12th of May 1588, known as the 'Journée des Barricades.' Henry III. was obliged to fly, and the Bastille, the Arsenal, and Vincennes fell into the hands of the Ligueurs.

Another abortive attempt was made to establish peace between the contending parties, and on the 16th of October 1588 the assembly of the 'Etats Généraux' of the kingdom met at Blois; but the bold measures proposed by the deputies did not suit the timid policy of the king, who, on his side, regarded the Duke of Guise as the chief mover of the opposition made by the assembly, and was convinced that, if once he could be removed, the League would speedily be dissolved. He resolved therefore to get rid of him; and on the 23d of December 1588, Henry 'le Balafré,' and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, were assassinated at the Château of Blois. The death of their brave and enterprising chief was a heavy blow to the Ligueurs, and, far from bringing the king an increase of influence and authority, it created a universal feeling of horror and indignation. His conduct was denounced from the pulpits with great

violence; a declaration, signed by seventy doctors of the Sorbonne, decided that his subjects were released from their oath of fidelity, and called down upon his head the vengeance of heaven and earth. From this moment the violence of the party knew no bounds, and principles of rebellion and regicide were openly inculcated. It is probable that the last of the Valois would have been saved from the crime that leaves so dark a stain on his memory, had Father Auger still been at his side, but the previous year he had left the court.

The complaints made by the king of the part taken by the Jesuits engaged in the 'Sainte Union' had induced Father Aquaviva to send to France Father Lorenzo Maggio, assistant for Italy. He was a man who, to great wisdom and prudence, united a gentleness and charity that made him much beloved in the Order, and, being by birth a Venetian, he was deemed more able to take a disinterested view of the state of affairs in France. He was instructed to examine whether the king's complaints of the fathers had any real foundation, and he was also to spare no efforts to release Father Auger from a position of great difficulty, and where experience had shown his presence to be well-nigh useless. Henry III. was much attached to his confessor, although he resisted his efforts to guide him to a nobler course of policy, and it was only after some persuasion that the desired permission was obtained; but in June 1587 we find Father Auger writing to the General to thank him for his successful intervention in his behalf, adding, 'mon séjour de trois mois à la cour a été pour moi un enfer.' The last years of the 'Chrysostom of France' were spent in evangelizing the populations of Northern Italy; he died at Como, in January 1591.

Immediately after the murder of 'Le Balafré,' Henry III. joined his forces to those of the King of Navarre, and marched upon Paris; but a few months later, on the 1st of August 1589, he was mortally stabbed at St. Cloud, by Jacques Clément, whom some suspect to have been a Huguenot in disguise.

Henry of Navarre immediately assumed the title of Henry IV., and proceeded to lay siege to Paris, which had become the last stronghold of the League, and where the news of the

king's death created an indescribable excitement. The violence of the 'Seize,' then all-powerful, broke out with unusual fury; they directed the clergy of the city to justify the regicide, and to compare it to the deed of Judith. A few months before, the Sorbonne had excommunicated the 'tyrant king' and all those who prayed for him; and its seditious tirades had doubtless inspired the crime, which it subsequently endeavoured to glorify. Amidst this turmoil and confusion the Jesuits remained comparatively quiet. No doubt they encouraged the people to remain firm in the defence of the Catholic faith, but from no reliable authority does it appear that they indulged in the use of the violent language employed by many of the clergy, and, on the contrary, many circumstances prove them to have been singularly moderate in their line of action.

Father Odon Pigenat, the successor of Father Mathieu as Provincial, who has been often confused with his brother François, curé of St. Nicolas des Champs, an ardent Ligueur, was well known as being of a grave and prudent character; yet he has been especially singled out by the enemies of the Order as the subject of their attacks and accusations. After many refusals, Father Pigenat, at the personal intercession of the Duke of Mayenne, who had become the leader of the League party on the death of his brother the Balafré, consented to become a member of the Committee of the Seize. Mayenne hoped that he might serve as a check on his turbulent colleagues, whose violence alarmed many of their own party, and, in compliance with the request of the President Brisson, Father Pigenat on some occasions attended the meetings. In the first instance he succeeded in restraining the fury of those by whom he was surrounded; but the task soon grew beyond his powers, and he incurred the suspicions of the Committee and the enmity of the opposite party. By the first he was accused of refusing to assist in their undertakings; by the second he was held responsible for the deeds of cruelty and violence which he vainly exerted himself to prevent. At length the mental strain became more than he could endure; he fell dangerously ill; and it was after he had for this reason withdrawn from the Com-

mittee that the 'Seize' committed their worst deeds of violence, and assassinated several magistrates who were opposed to their unjust measures.

De Thou and Arnauld have, with their usual misrepresentation, depicted the conduct of Father Pigenat in the darkest colours. The first calls him a 'furious and fanatical Ligueur;' the second, 'the most cruel tiger in Paris;' and, moreover, accuses him of giving the Seize a refuge in the Jesuit college. But, unfortunately for the author's accuracy, he had forgotten that in another part of his book he had stated that Father Pigenat was lying dangerously ill at Bourges at the very time when he was charged with presiding over the Council in Paris. Moreover, in the course of the trial, which afterwards took place between the Jesuits and the university, Duret, the advocate of the former, stated decidedly in open court that the Seize had never assembled in a house of the Society; a declaration which, if false, he never would have ventured to make in the presence of many persons who had been eye-witnesses of what passed. Another strong example of the reckless and dishonest manner in which charges were brought against the Society is offered in the case of Father Mathieu, who died in 1587, and who is accused by Pasquier and Arnauld of having taken in person, four years after his death, the written offer of the crown of France to the Escurial. Even the Sorbonne, although no friend to the Society, allowed that this letter, which bore the signatures of one president and three doctors of the university, was intrusted to a Spanish monk named Aquarius.

Although, as has been stated, the attitude of the Jesuits during the siege was singularly dignified and quiet, they were occasionally called upon to render important services, for during this exceptional war the clergy and religious were armed, and mounted sentry in their turn. One night, during the siege, some of the Jesuits were employed in this capacity near their college in the Rue St. Jacques. The enemy, commanded by Chatillon, hoping to effect a surprise under cover of a thick fog, had reached the foot of the wall, and had already placed their ladders, when they were perceived by the three sentinels,

—a bookseller named Nicolas Nivelle, an English lawyer, George Balden, and a Jesuit father. They immediately gave the alarm, and attacked the most advanced of the assailants, who were thrown into the *fossé;* upon which the enemy withdrew. But though forced to act as sentinels, the Jesuits did not neglect their duties as priests and religious ; while the students of the university abandoned their studies, in order to join in the warlike or grotesque demonstrations by which the preachers of the League strove to keep up the courage of the starving population, the fathers pursued their usual course of studies, and continued to receive their pupils with accustomed regularity.

It was no easy matter to maintain a calm and dignified attitude in times when even the gravest men yielded to the influence of religious and political excitement. On the death of Henry III. the Pope had sent Cardinal Gaetano to France as his Legate, with orders to do his best towards reëstablishing peace; and he had further desired that the famous Jesuit theologian and future cardinal, Bellarmine, should accompany him. It was not without pain that the great theologian tore himself away from the studious calm of the Roman College, and from his beloved band of young scholastics, to mix in the turmoil of religious and civil war.

Great must have been the contrast between the scenes he left and those he witnessed in Paris, where he was obliged to remain during the siege. Cardinal Gaetano caught the wild enthusiasm, which seemed to harden the chiefs of the League against the horrors of famine, and we find him presiding over the half-religious, half-grotesque ceremonies, which are amusingly described by the historians of the day. Under the plea that their rule exempted them from joining in processions, the Jesuits abstained from these strange demonstrations, in which other religious orders took part. Thus, on the 11th of March 1590, a great procession was organized, at which appeared Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, many of them clad in armour, and carrying rusty spears and daggers. One lame old monk had, we are told, a large sword in his hand, a hatchet was fastened round

his waist, and his Breviary was slung on his back.* Another procession took place a little later, at which the Legate assisted in his carriage. The Bishop of Senlis, who was at the head of the demonstration, ordered a discharge of firearms in honour of the Cardinal, and one of the volunteer soldiers accidentally killed the priest who was sitting near the Legate; whereupon, adds the historian, the latter retired as quickly as he could.

Scenes like these, which were animated more by fanaticism than by real piety, contributed largely to throw discredit and ridicule on the last years of the League, while the negotiations opened by some of its members with Philip of Spain, on whom they wished to bestow the crown, deprived it in great measure of its essentially patriotic and national character. Still, as long as Henry of Navarre remained obstinately attached to heresy, the 'Sainte Alliance' had a legitimate object in view to justify its existence and its efforts, although the means by which it strove to attain this object were often far from blameless.

At this juncture the Cardinal de Bourbon, or Charles X. as he was called by his adherents, fell dangerously ill, and the question was put to the Sorbonne whether, in the event of his death, it would be lawful to treat with or to acknowledge Henry of Navarre as king. To this the doctors replied that it was forbidden by divine law for Catholics to receive as king a relapsed heretic, and one well known to have been excommunicated by the Pope. Shortly afterwards, on the 9th of May 1590, the Cardinal died at Fonteney-le-Comte; and the Legate, who was not satisfied with the violent decision of the Sorbonne, consulted Father Bellarmine, and Father Tyrius, Rector of the College of Clermont, on the same point, in order to ascertain whether the Parisians would incur excommunication in case they submitted to the King of Navarre. The two Jesuits replied that no censure would be incurred by acknowledging the authority of Henry IV.

While these events were passing in Paris, the Jesuits in other parts of France were cruelly persecuted by the Huguenots,

* *Mémoires de la Ligue*, vol. v. p. 495. Crétineau, vol. ii. p. 352.

whose hatred for the Society was increased by the prominent part it had taken in the defence of the faith. In all the towns occupied by the Protestant troops the Jesuit houses and colleges were sacked and burnt, and the fathers cruelly put to death. In July 1593, the city of Aubenas, in Vivarais, was surprised and taken by the Huguenots. Two Jesuits, Jacques Salés and Guillaume Sautemouche, who were preaching a mission there, were immediately massacred, amidst the shouts of triumph of the Calvinist ministers.

On the whole the tide of success now flowed steadily in favour of Henry of Navarre, whose comparatively small army resisted the efforts of the Ligueurs and their Spanish and Italian auxiliaries. But his persevering attachment to heresy rendered all hopes of a treaty of peace impossible; and in obedience to Pope Clement VIII., the successor of Gregory XIV., Mayenne assembled the Etats Généraux of the kingdom for the election of a Catholic sovereign, January 1593. Many conflicting opinions divided this assembly. The illustrious house of Lorraine, which, since the foundation of the 'Sainte Union,' had played so prominent a part in the struggle, was now represented by the Duke of Mayenne and by the young Duke of Guise, the brother and the son of the murdered 'Balafré,' whom a large proportion of the Ligueurs considered as the most worthy candidates for the crown. But the efforts of the Guise party were balanced by the manœuvres of Philip II., who, having rendered important services to the cause, now claimed his reward, and suggested that the crown of France should be bestowed on the Archduke Ernest of Austria, the future husband of his own daughter, the Infanta Clara Eugenia. But, as this project was received with extreme disfavour, he proposed an alliance between the infanta and the young Duke of Guise, who should then be proclaimed king. Even this combination met with slight approval; for although some years before the Seize had offered the crown to Philip himself, to the great majority of the Ligueurs the idea of a Spaniard on the throne of France was almost as distasteful as that of a Huguenot; and the assembly was still undecided, when news

came that, on the 25th of May 1593, Henry of Bourbon had publicly made his abjuration in the Basilica of St. Denis.

Although the future proved that this conversion was thoroughly genuine on the part of the 'Béarnais,' we may well understand that at first both the Ligueurs and the Pope hesitated to believe in the sincerity of a change which was, from a worldly point of view, so advantageous to the royal neophyte. The former refused to lay down their arms, and the latter maintained absolute silence; while Philip II. either felt or feigned doubts as to the king's sincerity, and endeavoured to make the Pope share his suspicions. It was a Jesuit who, firmly convinced of the reality of Henry's conversion, first undertook to dispel the doubts of the Court of Rome. Father Possevinus, as has been seen, possessed a special gift for difficult negotiations between crowned heads; and contemporary historians* relate that he greatly assisted the Duke of Nevers, ambassador to the French king, in his endeavours to obtain his master's absolution from the censures formerly incurred. Clement VIII., however, was not easily convinced of the royal convert's sincerity; and it needed the intervention of another Jesuit two years later to complete his reconciliation with Rome.

Meantime, in France, Henry IV. was daily gaining ground. It is true the most obstinate partisans of the League, headed by Mayenne, still professed to regard his conversion as a stratagem, and continued to resist his authority in the provinces; but the inhabitants of Paris made their submission, and on the 22d of March 1594 he took possession of the capital.

It appeared as though, after long years of tumult and anarchy, better days were dawning for the most Christian kingdom; and the Jesuits, who in Rome were working assiduously on behalf of Henry's reconciliation with the Holy See, seemed to have a special right to enjoy peace and protection under his government. But, destined to a career of constant suffering

* *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, vol. i. p. 672. *Lettres et Ambassade de Canaye, Seigneur du Fresne*, vol. iii. p. 21 (édit. de 1645). Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 359.

and persecution, the Order of Jesus had no sooner emerged from the bloody struggle of the League than it became exposed to new and unexpected trials.

The success that had at last crowned the efforts of Henry IV. greatly alarmed the university, and showed its members the necessity of changing their tactics. Throughout the whole of the civil war they had been conspicuous for the violence of their denunciations against the heretical prince; and in 1590 they had gone so far as to declare that even should he conform to the Catholic faith, and be absolved from heresy, this could not be considered as a sufficient reason to authorize his succession to the throne, as his hypocrisy and perfidy must be regarded with alarm and distrust. The remembrance of the extraordinary zeal they had displayed now proved extremely embarrassing. On the 22d April 1594, the Rector, the Doyen of the Faculties, the Grand Master of the College of Navarre, with the other members of the corporation, took an oath of fidelity to the king; and henceforth, in order to atone for the past, they entered upon a course of servile flattery, presenting a strange contrast to their former denunciations. Their old jealousy of the Jesuits also speedily revived; and in the hope of gratifying this feeling, and at the same time of obtaining favour with the king, Jacques d'Amboise, the President of the university, drew up a petition, demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits, on the ground that they were partisans of Spain and enemies of the king. The petition had been drawn up with much secrecy, and the whole affair was conducted with great duplicity on the part of the university. Its members had purposely requested the Jesuits to adhere to the oath of fidelity they had themselves taken to the king on the 22d of April. They were fully aware that the fathers, in common with the Carthusians, the Capuchins, and other religious, considered that they could not formally acknowledge the king until his abjuration had been officially recognised by the Holy See, though at the same time they engaged themselves in no way to oppose him. The delay of taking the oath was merely a matter of form; and the zeal with which Father Possevinus and his colleague laboured

to procure the king's reconciliation with Rome clearly showed how fully the sympathies of the Order were in his favour.

Although the petition presented to the parliament by Jacques d'Amboise met with but little encouragement even from the Sorbonne, and was signed by only three or four out of the fifty curés of Paris, it gave rise to long debates, in which Louis Dollé and Antoine Arnauld, father of the Mère Angélique of Jansenist celebrity, appeared on behalf of the university; and Claude Duret for the Jesuits. The cause was heard on the 12th of July 1594. Arnauld's speech was long and violent. He reproached the Jesuits chiefly for their devotion to the Pope, their supposed attachment to Spain, rebellious feelings towards the king, and advocacy of the doctrines of regicide.

This last accusation had its origin in the attempt made by Barrière to assassinate Henry IV. a few months before. According to Pasquier and De Thou, two suspicious authorities wherever the Jesuits are concerned, Barrière declared, while under torture, that when he had spoken of his project to a secular priest at Lyons, to a Capuchin monk, and to Father Ambrose Varade, a Jesuit, they had all three urged him to persevere in it.

The Jesuits, when accused by Arnauld of having encouraged the would-be regicide, warmly defended Father Varade and the whole Society from any share in the criminal design; and, according to the historian of the university itself, Arnauld was defeated by their energetic and convincing reply.* Henry IV., the person most concerned in the matter, held Father Varade to be perfectly innocent, as we shall see later on. Claude Duret's answer to Arnauld's lengthy act of accusation was remarkably clear and complete. To the first charge he replied that truly the Jesuits were devoted to the Pope as to the representative of Christ. But Bellarmine had sufficiently proved in his writings that they considered him as their spiritual head, and not as their temporal sovereign. Regarding their devotion to the interests of Spain, he proved that the fathers had

* *Histoire de l'Université*, vol. iv. p. 884. Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 365.

never, as Arnauld falsely asserted, prayed for Philip II. as their king; that their Society had been founded in Paris, and that its first members belonged to the university; finally, that during the late trouble, when the university closed its classes, they had, on the contrary, rendered real services to the country by continuing to receive their pupils, whom they trained to be thoroughly French, neither Spaniards nor Huguenots. As for the charge of rebellion, he showed that neither in Germany, Poland, Flanders, Italy, Spain, or Portugal, where they possessed many houses, had the fathers been regarded as enemies to the sovereign. The Kings of France, Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX., had shown them much confidence, and looked upon them as loyal and obedient subjects. If Father Claude Mathieu had served the League, he was neither its founder nor its chief promoter; and it might be remembered that, at the same time, Father Auger was the king's confessor and companion. Moreover, he proved that if some Jesuits thought that religion might be served by joining the League, they had taken no part in its excesses. On the 'Journée des Barricades,' when the students of the university were foremost in the fray, they had not left their house. Father Pigenat alone had belonged for some time to the Committee of the 'Seize,' in hopes of checking its excesses. Duret likewise recalled the fact that two Jesuits, Father Bellarmine and Father Tyrius, had been the first to declare, during the siege of Paris, that it was lawful to enter into negotiations with the King of Navarre; and, at the same time, he disproved the assertion of Arnauld, that a Jesuit had heard the confession of Jacques Clément, as it was well known that Dominicans only confess to religious of their own order.

From these charges the Jesuits' advocate passed on to those brought forward by the curés of Paris, and showed that whenever the fathers administered the Sacraments it was with the full authorisation of the Pope and the Bishops.

Besides the powerful speech of Duret, the Society was ably defended by Father Clement Dupuy, Provincial of Paris. His defence was composed in a single night, and excited general

admiration for its clearness and good sense. The insignificance of the charges brought forward by the university is proved by the refusal of the Sorbonne and of most of the Paris curés to sign the petition. But though the parliament could not find sufficient reason to condemn the Jesuits, it declined to justify them, and the case was adjourned. Yet even among the members of the parliament there were men courageous enough to protest against the violent language employed by the enemies of the Society. Thus the two brothers, Pierre and Antoine Seguier, magistrates of high standing, openly expressed their indignation, and were in consequence loaded with sarcasms by the universitarians, who made an anagram of Antoine Seguier's name, 'Jésuite enragé.' In the following chapter it will be seen how new and unfortunate circumstances served the ill-will of the Jesuits' enemies, and gave them a temporary triumph.

CHAPTER XI.

Father Claudius Aquaviva, Fifth General of the Society.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

SCARCELY had the attack related in the last chapter passed by before an event occurred which gave to the enemies of the Jesuits another pretext for obtaining their expulsion from France. On the 27th December 1594, Jean Chatel, son of a Paris tradesman, attempted to kill the king. He was seized and tortured, and it was discovered that he had been educated partly at the Collége de Clermont, where Father Guéret was his professor, partly at the university under a celebrated doctor named Mancillius. This was enough for the universitarians and parliament—ever on the alert to seize any pretext for injuring the Society—to lay the blame on the Jesuits, though by the same course of reasoning the university itself should have more than shared the responsibility, as the time during which Chatel attended the Collége de Clermont was short compared with that which he had spent at the university. According to historians most hostile to the Order—De Thou, De Lestoile, De Sully, Perefixe*—Chatel, when under torture and in presence of death, solemnly declared that the Jesuits were perfectly innocent of any knowledge of the crime. The utmost that could be extracted from him by the pressure of torments was that when in the Jesuits' college he had heard it said (not mentioning whether by the fathers themselves or by their pupils) that, till the king was recognised by the Pope, obedience was not due to him. As M. de Challembert observes in his *History of the League*,† even supposing this vague assertion

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 370. *Documents concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, recueillis par St. Victor.

† *Histoire de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 415.

to be true, was it not unjust to hold a whole Order responsible for conversations held within the walls of one of its colleges? When confronted with Father Guéret, his former master, Chatel was implored by him to say whether he had ever in his class heard a single word that could be taken as having suggested the crime. Chatel burst into tears, and, according to an eye-witness, told the father that it pained him deeply to see him suffering for a thing of which he was so innocent. Father Guéret was tortured in order to make him confess his supposed connivance in the attempt; but as he persisted in his declaration of innocence, and no evidence could be obtained against him, he was eventually only sentenced to share the exile of his brethren.

However, the parliament was resolved not to let its intended victims escape: Hérault de Chiverny, then at the head of the police, relates in his Memoirs that, under pretence that Chatel had studied for some years at the Jesuits' college in Paris, the leading members of the parliament—who had long borne a grudge against the Society, and only desired a pretext for compassing its destruction—sent some of the most violent enemies of the Jesuits to search the College of Clermont. Here they either found, or pretended to have found, as many persons have thought, certain papers against the dignity of kings in general and the person of the late king in particular.

Some time previously the Rector had ordered that the fathers who still possessed papers published or written by the Ligueurs should take them to the library of the college. In consequence of this several of these papers were left in the room of Father Guignard, the librarian, where they were discovered by the envoys of the parliament.

Upon this discovery most of the fathers were imprisoned, and Father Guignard had to appear before the parliament in January 1595.

The crying injustice of the whole proceeding is manifest even to those who profess themselves the enemies of the Society. The libel, which formed the chief cause of the accusation, and which was said to be in Father Guignard's handwrit-

ing, bore the date 1589; consequently at the time it was written Henry IV. was still a Protestant, and the doctrines it contained, denying his claims to the throne, were generally accepted in France. Since then, after the king's abjuration, an amnesty had been published by which a free pardon was granted to those who, during the League, had written against him. Father Guignard brought this forward at his trial, but was told in reply that another decree had ordered that all seditious papers should be destroyed, and that having neglected to do this he was guilty of high treason; and upon this miserable subterfuge he was sentenced to death.

Lestoile, a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, whom he calls 'vipers,' observes, nevertheless, that all the judges who condemned Father Guignard to death had taken a share in the decree of 1589, which glorified the doctrine of regicide; indeed the object of their present affectation of loyalty was to efface, if possible, the remembrance of the dangerous teaching they had formerly supported. So resolved were they that, by fair means or foul, the Jesuits should be expelled from the kingdom that Pierre and Antoine Seguier, the two able magistrates, well-known friends of the Order, were purposely excluded from any share in the affair, although it was carried before the parliament to which they belonged.

On the 29th of December 1594, Chatel was executed; and the 7th of January following was fixed for the execution of Father Guignard, who, although he was cruelly tortured to make him confess his supposed crime, protested steadily to the end that he was innocent of the accusation brought against him.

On the morning of his death he was led in his shirt, with a cord round his neck, in front of Notre Dame to confess his crime; but this he declined to do. 'I beg pardon of God,' he said to the Lieutenant Rapin; 'but why should I beg pardon of the king, whom I have never offended?'

Lestoile relates that before dying he declared that since the king's conversion he had never forgotten him in his Mass, and that now, at his last hour, he prayed God to bless his majesty.

Then, turning to the people, he bade them pray for the Jesuits, who, he said, were not assassins of kings, as some would have them believe, and who, on the contrary, had never procured or approved the murder of any sovereign. His last words, when tied to the stake on the Place de Grève, were: 'Receive Thy servant, O Lord, and forgive those who have injured me!'

The next day the fathers of the houses of the Society in Paris were ordered to leave the city, to the grief and indignation of the greater portion of the inhabitants. Chiverny speaks of the regrets excited by their departure, and relates with some humour how 'ces messieurs du parlement' not only seized the Jesuits' possessions, but erected at their expense a fine stone pyramid, with an inscription to commemorate Chatel's crime, inspired by their 'pernicious sect.'* Sismondi, by no means a Catholic historian, calls the conduct of the parliament on this occasion 'a scandalous iniquity;'† and Muratori says that its decree appeared most unjust in the eyes of all good men.‡

The greater number of the provincial parliaments refused to follow the unjust example given by the capital; thus the magistrates of Toulouse, among others, indignantly protested that no consideration would induce them to permit the Jesuits to leave their city.

The expulsion of the fathers from Paris was marked by circumstances of peculiar harshness: they were divided into two bands, the one conducted by the Provincial, Father Clement Dupuy, the other by Father Alexander George, Rector of the College of Clermont. Their destination was the University of Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine; and with the exception of the aged and infirm, who were allowed to travel in carts, they performed the journey on foot. They had been forbidden to take anything with them, and were forced to leave their magnificent libraries at the mercy of the members of the parliament, who lost no time in seizing the books and furniture, and any other object on which they could lay their hands.

* *Mémoires de Chiverny*, p. 251. Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 375.
† *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxi. p. 323.
‡ *Annales d'Italie*, 1594. Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 374.

Among those who performed this long and weary journey, rendered still more painful by the severity of the weather, was the holy Father Thomas Darbyshire, aged eighty-seven, to whom the hardships then endured must have recalled the suffering he formerly underwent in England for the faith.

Before leaving Paris the younger fathers had been offered honours, riches, and every kind of favour and protection if they would leave their Order; but they all steadily refused, and when the little band of exiles reached the hospitable soil of Lorraine not one was missing. They were received with mingled love and sorrow by the fathers of Pont-à-Mousson and by Duke Charles of Lorraine, who sent for Father Guéret to Nancy in order to hear from his own lips the mournful history of his sufferings in Paris.

One of the strongest proofs of the feeling entertained in favour of the Society throughout France was the perseverance with which the Jesuits' pupils followed their masters to the different towns where they were forced to seek an asylum. Thus persecution had the effect of showing the value attached to the education given by the Society.

Among the clergy likewise the banished sons of St. Ignatius found ready sympathy. In 1595, when the fathers were driven out of Lyons, and proceeded down the Rhone to Avignon, it was touching to note the eager charity with which they were received in the towns through which they passed. At Avignon, the Legate, the archbishop, the religious and civil authorities placed their palaces at their disposal; but the fathers preferred going to their own college, where they could enjoy the society of their brethren.

Although Henry IV. had made his abjuration and was now master of Paris, he had not succeeded in obtaining from Pope Clement VIII. absolution from the censures pronounced against him by Sextus V., and until this point was gained he could not hope to obtain the submission of the more determined among the Ligueurs. It may be easily understood, therefore, that the king, both from conviction and policy, ardently desired this reconciliation with the Holy See; but Clement VIII., en-

couraged by Philip of Spain, still suspected his sincerity, and was, moreover, indignant at the treatment experienced by the Paris Jesuits. Although he did not actually join in the persecution against them, the king's position was too insecure and his triumph too recent for him to oppose the most powerful tribunal in his dominions; and probably too he retained enough of the prejudices of his Calvinist training to make him share in some measure the dislike with which the Jesuits were regarded by their enemies. At any rate, by remaining passive during the recent occurrences in Paris he raised a new and strong obstacle in the way of his reconciliation with Rome; but the fathers themselves, with complete self-forgetfulness, interceded in his behalf. His chief advocate in Rome was Cardinal Toletus, the great theologian, who sacrificed his national feelings as a Spaniard, and, in spite of the intrigues of Philip II., laboured successfully to bring about Henry's reconciliation with the Holy See. He was earnestly seconded by Father Alexander Georges, the exiled Rector of the College of Clermont, Father Guéret, Father Possevinus, Father Sirmond, and Father Commolet. The latter has been accused by Arnauld and Lestoile, two suspicious authorities, where the Jesuits are concerned, of invectives against the king; but we read in a letter of Cardinal d'Ossat, Henry's agent in Rome, that, among the Jesuits who brought about the king's reconciliation with the Pope, Father Commolet deserves a special mention, and Lestoile himself owns that in a sermon the same father expressed his loyalty in earnest terms.

Father Aquaviva, with the disinterestedness that characterized his subjects, turned all his influence in the same direction. Dear as the interests of his Order were to him he never let them interfere with the greater good of the Church, and it was at his demand that the Pope renounced his intention of making the recall of the Paris Jesuits a necessary condition of the king's reconciliation.

At length the negotiations were happily concluded. In 1595, Henry IV. was absolved from the censures he had incurred, and the Ligueurs were thereby deprived of all pretext

for further resistance. After the battle of Fontaine Française the same year, Mayenne made his submission, and the favourable terms accorded to him by the king is one of the strongest sanctions of the League; he was treated, not as a rebel, but as the head of a party which necessity had forced into existence, but whose mission, by reason of the sovereign's conversion, was now at an end.

His intervention on behalf of the 'Béarnais' was the last important act of Cardinal Toletus; he died on the 14th September 1596, and by Henry's command a public requiem was celebrated for him in all the large towns in France. The generosity with which he and his brethren had forgotten their personal injuries in order to serve the interests of France had made a deep impression on the king's naturally loyal disposition. The prejudices which his Calvinist training had implanted in his mind against the Society had been gradually dispelled by the writings of Father Richeôme, Provincial of Lyons and Aquitaine, whose eloquent and convincing defence of his Order strongly impressed the public mind at the period.

Moreover the Pope never ceased to urge the restoration of the Jesuits, and petitions to the same effect were constantly sent to the king from the bishops and clergy, and even from the magistrates of many great towns in the kingdom. When, in October 1600, the young Queen Mary de Medici entered France, the Society found in her another zealous advocate; before leaving her native Florence, the future queen had an interview with St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, whose extraordinary holiness and supernatural gifts rendered her an object of universal veneration, and from her received a solemn charge to use all her power in favour of the exiled Jesuits. To these influences must be added that of Father Coton, whose name occupies a prominent place in the history of the French provinces at this epoch, and through whose intervention the king's hesitations were finally overcome. In spite of the hostile interference of James I. of England, the edict for the restoration of the Society of Jesus throughout the kingdom was promulgated at Rouen on the 1st of September 1603.

Father Pierre Coton, the friend and confessor of Henry IV., plays so important a part in the life of his royal master that a short notice respecting him will not be out of place. He was born in March 1564, and belonged to an ancient family of Le Forez. From his childhood he showed great facility for study, and a singularly gentle and pious disposition; but his father, though in other respects a good Catholic, shared the hatred entertained against the Jesuits by the University of Paris, and brought up his children to regard the Society with fear and dislike.

However, when sent to Bourges to pursue his studies for the law, Pierre Coton made acquaintance with the famous professor, Father Maldonatus, and entered the Sodality of our Lady, directed by this great man, and in his frequent conversations with the much-dreaded Jesuits he gradually discovered how false were his ideas respecting them. At Turin, where he was sent on leaving Bourges, the young student continued to attend the meeting of the Sodality, under the direction of Father John Leone, who, when professor at the Roman College, had been the first founder of these congregations, which rapidly spread throughout the Catholic world; and after many prayers for guidance he at length determined to enter the Society of Jesus in September 1583. After spending two years at the novitiate of Arona, founded by St. Charles Borromeo, he was sent to study theology at the Roman College, where Father Gabriel Vasquez occupied the chair of theology, left vacant by the death of the far-famed Suarez. We read of the affectionate welcome given to the young French student by Father Nicolas Bobadilla, the last survivor of St. Ignatius's first companions. This venerable religious, who took a keen interest in the scholastics of the Roman College, appeared greatly struck by the intelligence, modesty, and holiness of Father Coton, and, as he embraced him affectionately, exclaimed: 'Here is a Frenchman who will be worth more than ten of us Spaniards.'*

Finally, having been recalled to France, he attended the

* *Recherches sur la Compagnie en France au Temps du P. Coton*, par P. Prat, S.J.

public course of theology, which had been founded at Lyons in 1590, in compliance with the demand of the magistrates of the town. Its first professor was a Scotchman, Father John Hay of Dalkeith, a renowned controversialist, whose rare argumentative powers, learning, and activity made him an object of terror to the Protestant ministers in his own country. At the time of Father Coton's return to France he was teaching at Lyons with extraordinary success and brilliancy; not only the young religious of the Society, but the magistrates, clergy, and learned men of the city flocked to attend his lectures. In 1591, Father Coton was ordained a priest, and was then sent to preach at Avignon, Nîmes, Marseilles, and other towns, where his great learning, combined with remarkable charity and gentleness, gained a large number of Calvinists to the Church, while his successful controversies with the Protestant ministers made his name celebrated throughout France. His fame reached the ears of the king, who in 1603 sent for him to his court, where his influence greatly contributed to the promulgation of the decree for the restoration of the Society.

As may be supposed this act of justice could not but excite the anger of the Paris parliament, whose members not only declined to sanction the edict, but decided to remonstrate with the king on the subject. On Christmas-eve, 1603, the chief officials, with the president, Achille du Harlay, at their head, obtained an audience, and laid before the monarch a long list of accusations against the Jesuits. It was in answer to this violent tirade that Henry IV. made the celebrated apology of the Order, which remains to this day one of the most sensible, complete, and eloquent defences of the Society of Jesus ever pronounced. Dupleix,* a contemporary writer, says that Du Harlay's speech was a series of invectives, a compilation of all the ancient calumnies against the Society; and on hearing his long and elaborate harangue, the friends of the Jesuits who were present feared that the king's reply would hardly meet the emergency. Great, then, was their surprise and admiration when, with unfailing readiness and unerring truth, Henry took

* *Histoire de Henri IV.*, par Dupleix, p. 346.

up each one of the charges brought forward and successfully refuted them.

The president's accusations may be summed up as follows :

1. At the conference of Poissy the ambition and pride of the Jesuits were generally condemned.

2. They attribute to themselves exclusively the name of Jesuits, as if this name did not belong to all Christians.

3. The Sorbonne always disliked them, and condemned their mode of life and their teaching.

4. They are only tolerated, not authorized, in France.

5. The university has always regarded them as dangerous to youth.

6. The most distinguished magistrates have not studied under them.

7. Their Society is a collection of rebels, as was proved by their conduct in the League.

8. They select the cleverest men to draw them into the Order.

9. They accumulate great riches.

10. They promise blind obedience to the Pope.

11. They are the tools of the King of Spain.

12. They are unscrupulous as to the means they employ to gain a footing in the kingdom, and having once done so, they act as they like: 'Ils entrent comme ils peuvent, puis font comme ils veulent.'

13. They hesitate at nothing to maintain their Institute.

14. Even priests complain of them, especially on account of their doctrine touching the power of the Pope.

15. They teach that ecclesiastics owe obedience only to the Holy See, and not to temporal princes; and that it is lawful to kill the kings whom they call tyrants, as was proved at the trials of Barrière and Chatel.

16. They opposed the dispensation given by the Pope for the marriage of the king's sister with the Duke of Bar.

17. They inspire their French pupils with love for Spain, and prejudice them against their own sovereign.

Du Harlay concluded by protesting that the attachment of

the parliament for the king's person was the only motive that inspired these representations, and in the name of his colleagues he earnestly besought his majesty not to expose himself to the machinations of the Jesuits, whom he described as restless and dangerous spirits.

Henry IV. began by thanking the president for the interest he had expressed in his personal safety, and added that all he had just heard had already been the subject of his serious consideration. Then, with an *apropos* and readiness impossible to render in an English translation, he went over the different heads of accusation, replying to each in the frank and telling language characteristic of the 'Béarnais' king.

At the conference of Poissy, he observed, if all there present had conducted themselves as did the Jesuits, things would have gone better for the Catholics; and how could pride and ambition be laid to the charge of those who rendered services to all who needed them, without asking for or expecting any reward? 'If the name Jesuit is displeasing to you,' continued the king, 'why should not that of the religious of the Trinity be equally so? and if you say that you also have a right to call yourselves Jesuits, for the same reason your daughters may call themselves *Filles-Dieu*, as much as the nuns of that name in Paris. For my part, I would rather be called Jesuit than Jacobin or Augustinian. The Sorbonne, of which you speak, has condemned them, but it was as you have done, without knowing what they really are. If hitherto they have been established in France only temporarily, henceforth it shall be permanently in virtue of an edict. The university has opposed them violently; but this was either because they were more successful than others, as prove the crowds that fill their colleges, or else because they have not been incorporated in the university. You say that the wisest members of your parliament have not studied under them. If by the wisest you mean the oldest, you are right, for they went through their studies before the Jesuits came to France; but I have heard very different statements from other parliaments, and even from some members of yours. If the Jesuits did not teach better than

others, how did it happen that when they left Paris your university was deserted, and that in spite of all your decrees their pupils followed them to Douai, to Pont-à-Mousson, and even beyond the frontier? When they embraced the party of the League they only followed the current of ideas then prevalent; their intentions, if mistaken, were good, and I trust that now their good feeling and the favours I mean to grant them will attach them to me even more strongly than they were to the League. They attract to themselves, you say, the children who show most intelligence, and for this I esteem them. Do we not select the best soldiers to send to war? If they produced ignorant preachers and professors you would despise them; they produce men of talent, and therefore you reproach them.' The accusation of accumulating great riches the king refuted by facts; he likewise disposed of the charge that by obeying the Pope the Jesuits became rebels to their sovereign; and as for their attachment to Spain, he quaintly observed that if France proved herself as favourable to them as Spain had done, no doubt they would be equally devoted to her. 'They enter the kingdom in the best way they can, and so did I,' continued Henry; 'it must be owned that their patience is very great, and that by means of their patience and their good conduct they succeed in everything at last. I admire them no less for being strict observers of their rules; it is this that insures their existence; and, far from desiring to change their rules, I wish to maintain them. As for the priests who attack them, at all times ignorance has attacked science; and I noticed that when I was about to restore them, two classes of persons opposed the measure—the Protestants and the bad priests—and their opposition made me esteem the Jesuits the more. I am aware that they have great respect for the Pope, and so have I; those who attack their opinions might as well attack the opinions of the whole Catholic Church.' Touching the accusation of regicide, the king declared that in the affairs of Barrière and Chatel the Jesuits were perfectly innocent, and that out of the hundred thousand scholars, of every rank and condition, educated in their colleges, not one would be found

who heard them use the seditious language attributed to them. Finally, after declaring that, far from opposing his sister's marriage, the Jesuits had on the contrary assisted in obtaining the necessary dispensation, and that a Spanish Jesuit Cardinal had been the chief promoter of his own reconciliation with the Holy See, the king concluded by begging the magistrates to leave to him the care of the Society, adding that he had before governed matters far more difficult and complicated. As may be imagined, the magistrates were much surprised at the monarch's spirited defence of the hated Jesuits, and left the Louvre in great confusion.

So complete and sensible an apology of the Society has naturally enough been attacked by its enemies, and doubts have since been cast on its authenticity; but these hostile insinuations rest on no foundation, and are refuted by the testimonies of contemporary historians. Mathieu, Henry IV.'s historian, is the first to record the royal speech, and his statement has never been contradicted; De Thou, the Jesuits' bitter enemy, recognises its authenticity. It exists in manuscript in several libraries, where it has been preserved since the time when it was pronounced; it was printed under the king's supervision, read by all at court, and published throughout the kingdom, without raising any contradiction.*

From the moment when he thus braved the anger of the parliament in order to restore the Society in France, Henry IV. never wavered in his attachment to the Jesuits. Two years later, in 1605, he ordered the pyramid erected to commemorate Chatel's crime to be destroyed, greatly to the satisfaction of Father Coton, who writes to announce the fact to his Superior, and ends the letter with a joyful '*Laus Deo!*' His own influence contributed in great measure to maintain the favourable dispositions with which the king regarded the Order. Histories of the time describe the 'Béarnais' walking arm-in-arm with his Jesuit friend under the shady avenues of Fon-

* *Recherches sur la Compagnie de Jésus en France,* par P. Prat, vol. ii. p. 214. *L'Eglise, son Autorité et l'Ordre des Jésuites,* par un Homme d'état, 1844.

tainebleau, and the father's own letters to his Superiors give many amusing anecdotes of his life at court, where the king insisted on retaining him. One day a Calvinist lady, who had lately arrived, was asked by Henry why she was not present at Father Coton's sermon; she replied that she could not endure the Jesuits. 'Neither could I,' replied the king, 'before I knew them; but my opinions and affections have since greatly changed; learn to know them, and it will be the same with you.' Another day, when Father Coton had preached a sermon upon the tears of our Lord, which especially pleased his hearers, the king during his dinner began to draw a parallel between the Jesuits and the Carthusians, comparing their spirit and practices of devotion. Turning to the prior of the Carthusians, who was present, he asked him his opinion; and as the former hesitated to reply, a young nobleman present said: 'Sire, the difference between the two is, that the Carthusians mortify the mind by means of the body, and the Jesuits the body by means of the mind.' An answer, adds Father Coton, which was much approved by all present, especially by the king.

The life of the father at court was one of unceasing labour; he had to complete the religious instruction of his royal penitent, by whom many points of Catholic doctrine were as yet imperfectly understood; moreover, he preached continually, and was employed in giving instruction to numbers of Calvinists, whom the king was accustomed to send to him. His influence over Henry IV. was undoubtedly beneficial: although his earnest efforts were often powerless to withdraw the king from the evil habits that have left a stain on his otherwise loyal and noble character, he succeeded in keeping alive in his soul a warm spirit of faith and a sincere zeal for the conversion of heretics. Sometimes even he obtained an amendment that seemed to promise a thorough reform, and for months together the king's conduct would be as exemplary as his Jesuit friend could desire. Even when evil habits resumed their sway, Henry never wavered in his respect for the religion, the commandments of which he had not sufficient moral courage to

observe, nor in his affection for Father Coton and the Society. The father's example contributed even more than his example to serve the cause of religion and virtue; in the midst of that brilliant court he preserved the recollection and modesty of a true religious; and Father Richeôme, his Provincial, declared that he had attained a degree of union with God which would have been difficult to practise even in the most regular community. During the king's sojourn in Paris Father Coton made it a point never to go to the Louvre unless sent for; but during the frequent journeys undertaken by his royal penitent he was obliged to reside entirely at the court, though even there he contrived to follow with scrupulous care the rule of life observed in his community. He was so rigid on this point, that he refused to admit any one, of whatever rank and position he might be, into his room during the hours allotted by his rule to prayer and meditation. His strictness provoked some of the courtiers, who represented to him that his time would be more usefully employed if it were devoted to preaching and to the conversion of heretics. 'I would willingly do as you wish,' he replied; 'but show me first that it is possible for me to do the work of God without His assistance, and teach me a better means of obtaining this assistance than by prayer.' The advice of Father Aquaviva greatly assisted Father Coton to steer clear of the perils that beset his path; one of the characteristic traits of the holy General was the fatherly solicitude he manifested for those of his subjects who were called upon to fill important offices at courts, and for whose guidance he drew up regulations of rare wisdom and prudence. Although so exact in his observance of his rules, Father Coton was ever ready to render the services demanded of him. He was especially remarkable for his zeal in promoting the interests of other religious orders; thus he was on intimate terms with the Carthusians, Franciscans, and Benedictines, to all of whom he rendered important services. He likewise assisted Madame Acarie and the Cardinal de Bérulle to establish St. Teresa's reformed Carmelites in France.

As may be imagined, the friendship of the king for his

Jesuit adviser excited the anger of the enemies of religion and of the Society; they spared no pains to discredit Father Coton, and even attempted to take his life; but their efforts to ruin his influence and to murder him were alike vain. When their insinuations against the Society fell unheeded on the royal ear they used to say, 'Le roi a les oreilles bouchées de coton' (the king's ears are stuffed with cotton); and Henry himself, one day when Sully addressed to him a petition on behalf of the Protestants of Paris, replied: 'I can't hear; I have cotton in my ears.'

So high was the king's opinion of Father Coton's ability and virtue that he resolved to obtain for him the archbishopric of Arles, and subsequently the cardinal's hat; and he was greatly surprised at the earnestness and genuine terror with which both the father himself and his Superiors besought him to relinquish his project. Although he refused all personal favours, Father Coton gladly accepted the marks of confidence and protection which were given to the Society; new colleges were founded at Dijon, Amiens, Rheims, Bourges, Bilhom, Rennes, Troyes, Rouen, La Flèche, and other towns, under the special patronage of the king, at whose request Jesuit missionaries were sent to Canada and to Constantinople. The College of La Flèche was regarded by Henry with special interest; it was founded in the town where his parents, Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret were married, and where he himself had spent part of his childhood. The Jesuits took possession of it in 1604, and at the end of the first year it numbered 100 boarders and 1100 day scholars. The king ordered that an account of all the plays and literary performances that took place at the college should be sent to him, and he himself gave many of the prizes. By his letters patent of 1615, he desired that his heart and that of his queen should be buried in the Jesuits' church at La Flèche. His wish for himself was accomplished, but the heart of his ill-fated wife reposes in her obscure grave in Cologne Cathedral.

Almost one of the last public acts of Henry IV. was to address a petition to Pope Paul V., begging him to canonize

St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier; but he was not destined to see these two great saints raised to the altars of the Church, for the following year, on the 24th of May 1616, he fell by the hand of Ravaillac.

While Father Coton, acccompanied by Father Armand, the Provincial, carried to La Flèche the royal heart that had loyally loved the Order of Jesus, we find the university and parliament renewing their former attacks and accusations. The open protection accorded to the Society by the late king had obliged them to restrain their animosity, but had increased their bitter jealousy. Now that Henry IV. was dead this hatred broke forth anew, and, seizing on the first pretext that offered, they asserted that Ravaillac had been urged on to his crime by reading the work of a Spanish Jesuit, Father Mariana, *De Rege et Regis institutione*, and that the Jesuits were therefore his accomplices. In vain common sense pointed out that the fathers were the chief sufferers from a crime depriving them of their greatest friend and protector; in vain too Ravaillac repeated that he had never heard of Father Mariana or of his book; the university and parliament persisted in their statements, and Mariana's book was publicly burnt in Paris with a great show of indignation. The accusations of regicide against the Society were so violent that the Archbishop of Paris, Henry de Gondi, published a letter to defend its members and proclaim their holiness and important services. Father Coton was especially the object of attack, and the parliamentarians combined with the Calvinists to calumniate him. The latter published the pamphlet *Anti-Coton*, supposed to be the work of a Protestant minister of Charenton, and filled with accusations of horrible crimes. Father Coton and his brethren responded, and proved by a quantity of public and private attestations that the charges were utterly absurd and unfounded. A war of pamphlets ensued. The Jesuits defended themselves vehemently, and were supported by several of their former adversaries, the doctors of the Sorbonne, whose indignation had been aroused by the falsehoods of the *Anti-Coton*.

A few months before the death of Henry IV., Father Clau-

dius Aquaviva had breathed his last in Rome. Thirty-four years of incessant toil had at length exhausted the strength of this great man, the most remarkable of all the Generals of the Society after St. Ignatius. In spite of his advanced age, his labours, and his austerities, he retained to the end his clear and vigorous intellect unimpaired. He died on the 31st of January 1615, after a short illness. His last moments were full of serenity, and his last act was to give a parting blessing to the fathers assembled round his bed, and in them to the whole Society.

A general outburst of reverence and admiration followed him to the grave. Without ever outstepping his legitimate sphere of action, he had for the last thirty-four years been associated with every event of importance throughout the Christian world. The contemporary of Sextus V., of Philip II., of Henry IV., and Elizabeth, he had often to struggle against storms so violent that they threatened the safety of the bark committed to his charge. But through every difficulty he steered his way, with a moderation in which gentleness and energy were marvellously combined; and in the conflict of human politics and passions he never lost sight of the motto left by St. Ignatius to be the guiding-star of his Society, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam.'

We have seen something of the varied events that marked the long period of Aquaviva's government; in future chapters we shall complete the sketch of this important epoch by glancing at the action of the Society in foreign missions, and entering into a few details respecting the saints and scholars it gave to the world.

CHAPTER XII.

Saints and Scholars under Father Claudius Aquaviva.

THE 'RATIO STUDIORUM' AND ITS RESULTS.

THE thirty-four years during which Father Claudius Aquaviva governed the Society of Jesus were remarkable, not only for the important events in which the Jesuits were compelled to take part, but also for the number of holy and learned men which the Institute then gave to the world.

In the long list of names included in this comparatively brief period we find examples of varied and contrasting merit. Youthful saints hardly out of boyhood; illustrious theologians grown gray in intellectual labour; mathematicians, historians, orators, professors, missionaries, and martyrs; every type of spiritual and intellectual eminence has here its representatives.

A few years after the election of Aquaviva, on the 23d of October 1590, died at Loretto Father Nicholas Bobadilla, the last survivor of the seven who had knelt at the side of Ignatius in the little chapel of Montmartre, on the eventful 15th of August 1534. To him it was given to see the Society, whose birth he had witnessed, extend throughout the world; and often, when he heard how in every quarter of the globe his brethren had planted the Cross, must the old man's thoughts have reverted to the early days when, with his first companions, he had gathered round the holy founder. He had seen how one by one those companions were taken to their rest—some, like Laynez, worn out by labour rather than by age; others, like Xavier, the great apostle, snatched away in the prime of manhood, and in the midst of stupendous works undertaken for Christ—until at last he alone remained to recall those student-days in Paris, and the lowly commencement of the great Society.

We read how Father Bobadilla, regarded as a living relic of the heroic times of the Order, was surrounded by his brethren with peculiar love and veneration, and how at the Roman College the young students were accustomed to assemble round him to hear from his lips an account of the early fathers whom he had known and loved so well. On his side he took the keenest interest in the progress made by the scholastics, and was eager that they should be in all things faithful to the spirit of St. Ignatius, and careful to preserve the traditions and customs of the Order.

Another father, who, perhaps more than any one, had been admitted into the intimate confidence of St. Ignatius, also died during the government of Father Aquaviva. This was Peter Ribadeneira, whom we have seen a mere child, trained to religious life by the holy founder himself. The subsequent career of Ribadeneira fully justified the assertion made by St. Ignatius that the boy, whose childish petulance and mischief sorely vexed the older fathers, would one day render great services to the Order. Ribadeneira, as we have mentioned in a previous chapter, had been appointed by St. Francis Borgia, general superintendent of studies at the Roman and German Colleges, where he thoroughly organized the system of instruction. He then was made successively Provincial of Tuscany and of Sicily, Visitor-General of the Province of Lombardy, and twice Assistant to the Father General. In 1574 his health, severely tried by his incessant labours, completely broke down, and he was ordered to go back to Spain to try the effect of his native air. This decision was a heavy blow both to Ribadeneira, to whom the Eternal City had become a second home, and to the General, Father Mercurian, who counted much on his assistance and advice. However, the remedy proved successful in prolonging the father's life, though it failed to restore his strength. He lived thirty-seven years after his return to Spain, and it was during this period that he composed many of the works which place him among the most eminent writers of the Society.

Very interesting are the descriptions given of him in the

last years of his long career: his bearing was grave, his expression calm and collected, but his conversation was always bright, clever, and interesting; he was extremely charitable, ever eager to help and oblige his brethren. Towards the end of his life, when he had been delivered from all responsibility of authority, his obedience and humility found full scope for their development, and, in spite of his long experience, he was in the habit of submitting all his writings to his Superiors with touching deference. Brought up in the Society from his childhood, he cherished its rules more than life itself, and though his age and infirmities entitled him to various privileges, he preferred to share in every respect the life of the other fathers. So great indeed was his love for holy poverty that, during forty years, he wore the same cloak; and when, on one occasion, the Duke de l'Infantado, a Spanish grandee, shocked to see a man so venerable dressed in patched and worn clothes, begged to be allowed to supply him with new ones, it needed the express order of his Superior to make Ribadeneira accept the gift, and then he stipulated that the new cloak and cassock should be made of the coarsest cloth.

Although his great age and the infirmities from which he suffered latterly debarred Ribadeneira from taking an active part in the affairs of the Institute, no important measure was ever decided without his advice. Like Father Mercurian, Claudius Aquaviva constantly consulted him, and in Spain the esteem in which he was held was such that his opinion was frequently sought by Philip II. and the councillors of state. There was little left in the gentle humble old man to recall the unruly and impetuous novice of bygone days; but one trait remained the same, the ardent love that bound him to St. Ignatius. The Spanish fathers delighted to make him speak on the subject nearest his heart; and when, as was often the case, Ribadeneira retired to Jesus del Monte, the country house of the fathers of Alcala, there would gather around him, in the olive-groves at the foot of the rugged Sierras, men like Father Mariana, the historian, Da Ponte and La Palma, the great ascetical writers, Father Vasquez, the famous theologian, all

eager to listen to their founder's praises from one who had been his privileged child. Besides writing a Life of St. Ignatius, generally regarded as the best ever composed, Ribadeneira, by his exertions, contributed in a great measure towards the beatification of the saint, an event that took place on the 27th of July 1609; and when the feast of St. Ignatius was kept for the first time at the College of Madrid, the fathers felt that they could give him no greater happiness than to intrust to him the organization of the feast. It was he, therefore, who presided at the religious ceremonies of that eventful day, in presence of the king and his court, the Bishops and grandees, who flocked to do homage to the great founder of the Society of Jesus. This was the happiest day of Ribadeneira's old age; but after seeing his beloved father raised to the altars he desired that not only the memory of his virtues, but even his bodily features and expression, should be faithfully transmitted to posterity. The saint had always refused to have his portrait taken during his lifetime, and the cast taken after death did not satisfy Ribadeneira. To him the living countenance of Ignatius was ever present, and under his direction Alonzo Sanchez, the king's painter, began a portrait of the saint. The artist appears to have caught something of Ribadeneira's enthusiasm for his subject. He never began his work without fervent prayer; and, while he painted, the venerable religious sat by his side, watching every touch, and giving the suggestions prompted by his unfailing memory and filial devotion. To his great joy the persons who had known St. Ignatius pronounced this picture to be the best likeness ever produced. A lay-brother, named Lopez, who, on account of Ribadeneira's advanced age and painful illnesses, had been appointed his secretary and constant companion, relates that, when the portrait was completed, the old man used to spend hours before it, talking to the saint as though he were present; and he was accustomed to say that this picture reminded him of the happiest days of his life, and comforted him for the absence of his friend and father.

Ribadeneira closed his long career at Madrid on the 22d of September 1611, at the age of eighty-five, having spent seventy-

one years in the Society. His last moments were full of peace and happiness. Whenever his bodily sufferings were at their worst it was enough to speak to him of St. Ignatius, whose portrait hung near his bed, to cause immediate relief.

He was deeply mourned by his brethren, both for his own great qualities and lovable character and as a link with the holy founder, whom none had known so well or loved so tenderly. Contrary to the custom of the Society, his funeral was attended by the whole court, and by many prelates and nobles; and his remains were laid in the chapel that he himself had built in honour of St. Ignatius.

As a writer Father Ribadeneira occupies a distinguished place among Jesuit authors. Besides his Life of St. Ignatius, written in Spanish and in Latin, he published several treatises explaining the object of the Society and its mode of government. He also wrote the Lives of Fathers Laynez and Salmeron, and of St. Francis Borgia, a history of the schism in England, and a treatise on the virtues of a Christian prince, which was regarded at the court of Philip II. as an excellent code of rules for the guidance of royal personages. His chief production, however, is the *Flos Sanctorum*, or *Lives of the Saints*, a work of immense labour and research, and especially remarkable for its exact truthfulness. Though the Calvinists and Jansenists have accused Father Ribadeneira of superficial study of his subject, it suffices to read his works attentively to ascertain that, on the contrary, he studied the best authors of the day with the utmost care and patience. He was the first to break through the then conventional style of writing the lives of the saints; and instead of giving merely a dry catalogue of their virtues he endeavoured to combine their personal history with an account of the leading events of the period, thus giving it greater interest and life. This innovation, which Canisius and Father Manareus were inclined to regard as an act of over-boldness, was subsequently sanctioned by the example of the Bollandists.*

We have seen in previous chapters how Blessed Peter

* *Histoire du P. Ribadeneira*, par P. Prat, S.J.

Canisius, by his preaching, his controversial writings, his arduous and untiring labours, successfully stemmed the tide of heresy in the German Empire during nearly fifty years. The last work of this great man was the foundation of the College of Fribourg in 1580; and there he closed his long career. When he was upwards of seventy years of age, and broken by infirmities and fatigue, Father Martin Licio the rector forbade him to follow the Rule in all its strictness, a prohibition which was very painful to the venerable religious. His last letter to the General Aquaviva is touching in its simplicity, coming as it does from one whom Popes, emperors, princes, and prelates had made their friend and councillor, and to whom the cardinal's purple had been repeatedly offered. He begins by humbly accusing himself of the faults he had committed in the discharge of his duties as Superior. 'Prostrate on the ground,' he writes, 'I humbly beg of God our Lord, and of your reverence Father General, who holds towards me the place of Christ my Redeemer, to deign to pardon me the faults I have committed in the fulfilment of the high obligations of my vocation. These faults are certainly numerous and grave; for I have unworthily discharged the office imposed upon me for so many years; and I confess that I have failed in many respects as a provincial, as a preacher, and as a writer. . . . I have become idle, indolent, and useless, like a tree diseased and ready to fall, unworthy of the charity of my brothers, who bestow all their care on one so ungrateful. . . .'* In strange contrast with these words of humble self-accusation is the life of untiring zeal, of stupendous labour, and wonderful success of him who penned them. Blessed Canisius died on the 21st of December 1597, at the age of seventy-three. An instant before he breathed his last, a radiant look of joy shone upon his emaciated countenance as he exclaimed: 'O, see, see; Ave Maria, Ave Maria!' And those about him believed that the Heavenly Queen, under whose patronage St. Ignatius had placed his Order, came in person to bear her faithful servant to his eternal rest. Many miracles, wrought through his intercession, con-

* *Histoire du B. Canisius*, par Daurignac.

firmed the general opinion as to his heroic sanctity; but it was not until 1834 that he was declared Venerable by Gregory XVI. He was beatified by Pius IX. on the 24th of June 1864.

While Ribadeneira and Canisius were closing by peaceful and happy deaths long and eventful lives spent in the service of the Church, the Roman College was edified by the angelic sanctity of a young Italian noble of almost royal birth. The father of Aloysius Gonzaga was Ferdinand, Marquis of Castiglione, one of the favourite courtiers of Philip II.; and the infancy of his little son was spent amidst scenes of regal splendour. But the lessons of his pious mother, Martha de Tane, had sunk deep into the heart of Aloysius; and at the Court of Spain, as in his father's house, men marvelled at his extraordinary piety, constant recollection, and austere mode of life. This delicately nurtured boy, who, to the end of his brief existence, kept unstained his baptismal robe of innocence, practised penances equal to those used by the austerest anchorites of former days. He fasted three times a week, took frequent and bloody disciplines, spent whole nights in prayer, kneeling on the bare ground. In 1586, at the age of seventeen, he implored his father's permission to enter the Society of Jesus; but it was only after a severe struggle that the Marquis of Castiglione consented to resign his eldest and best beloved son. The motive that had led Aloysius to select the Order of Jesus in preference to any other was one that rendered his choice peculiarly painful to his father. While the youth rejoiced to think that he was thus excluded from even ecclesiastical dignities, the proud Italian noble suffered grievously from the voluntary obscurity which his child so eagerly embraced.

Having joyously renounced his rights as eldest son and heir, Aloysius hurried to Rome and entered the Jesuit novitiate, where he began his new life with intense fervour. We are told that he sought for the lowest employments in the house, and delighted to serve in the refectory, and to beg in the streets of Rome. After his two years' novitiate he entered upon the usual course of study; but his pure spirit, made perfect in a short time, was destined before its conclusion to wing its

flight to heaven. In 1591 a contagious disease broke out in Rome, and, according to their usual custom, the Jesuits distributed themselves among the different hospitals. No one was more devoted to this labour of love than Aloysius; but his strength proved unequal to his self-imposed task. He was speedily attacked by the fever, and became dangerously ill. However, he lingered on for three months; and all who came to visit him in his poor little cell were moved to tears by his angelic piety and fervour. According to his own prediction, he expired on the octave-day of Corpus Christi, the 21st of June 1591, assisted to the last by his confessor, Father Bellarmine.

An immense outburst of admiration followed the death of him who, in the brief space of twenty-three years, had attained such a marvellous degree of perfection. Those who had known him eagerly treasured his smallest relics; and before long a number of miracles confirmed his sanctity. He was beatified in 1605, and canonized rather more than a century later, in 1726. Cardinal Bellarmine, whose devotion for Aloysius was such that he expressly requested to be buried at the feet of his young penitent in the church of the Gesù, is himself one of the chief glories of the Society under Aquaviva. We have seen in a previous chapter how successfully he opposed the errors of Baïus in the Low Countries. With equal zeal and talent he wrote to defend the English Catholics against their persecutors; while, at the same time, he strengthened their faith and confirmed their allegiance to Rome. To the talents of a theologian and a controversialist Bellarmine united the interior spirit, so deeply prized by St. Ignatius. When he was appointed professor at the Roman College, it was touching to see the charity with which he devoted himself to the intellectual and spiritual training of the young students under his care. Among them were, besides Aloysius Gonzaga, Peter Coton, the friend of Henry IV; Abraham George, a future martyr; and Virgilius Cepari, the future biographer of St. Aloysius. All the scholastics had the deepest veneration for Bellarmine. At any hour of the day they could go to his room, always cer-

tain of a cordial welcome from the great theologian, whose fame filled the Christian world, but whose one thought, when with them, was to assist them in every difficulty or trial.

Scarcely less famous than Bellarmine is Father Francis Suarez,* the Spanish theologian, called by Paul V. and Benedict XIV. 'doctor eximius,' the eminent doctor. He was professor at Segovia, Valladolid, Alcala, Salamanca, and Coimbra, and rendered great services to the study of philosophy by the depth of his views, the independence and soundness of his opinions, and the clearness and method of his style of argument. He took a prominent part in the discussions to which Molina's system gave rise; and he has a special claim to the sympathies of English Catholics for his book, *Defensio Catholicæ Fidei contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Auctores*, in which he proved that the oath of allegiance demanded by the government was unlawful for Catholics. Like Suarez, Father Lessius,† professor of philosophy and theology at Louvain and at Douai; Father Gabriel Vasquez,‡ who for twenty years taught theology in Rome; Father Cornelius à Lapide, or Cornelius Van den Stein,§ whose works have a world-wide celebrity, occupy important places among the great Jesuit theologians of the sixteenth century. To their names must be added those of Cardinal Toletus,‖ who, celebrated as a negotiator between crowned heads, was still more renowned as a theological writer; and of Father Emmanuel Sa,¶ who, at the age of seventeen, was professor of philosophy at the College of Gandia, where he numbered St. Francis Borgia among his pupils. Later on he was employed by Pope Pius V. to revise the Vulgate; but his biographers relate that, like a true son of St. Ignatius, he was no less remarkable for his humility and his religious spirit than for his extraordinary learning; and his favourite occupation in

* Born at Granada, 1548; died 1617.
† Born near Antwerp, 1554; died 1623.
‡ Born in New Castile, 1551; died 1604.
§ Born near Liége, 1566; died 1637.
‖ Born at Cordova, 1532; died 1596.
¶ Born in Portugal, 1530; died 1596.

his old age was to teach the elements of religious knowledge to the peasant children near Arona.

In other branches of learning the Jesuits likewise numbered men of remarkable merit. Among their mathematicians was Father Christopher Clavius,* surnamed the Christian Euclid. He was already celebrated, when Pope Gregory XIII. appointed him to form one of a commission for the reform of the Calendar. He took the lead in this important work, and replaced the Calendar of Julius Cæsar, which had in every century advanced the year by a day too much, by the Gregorian Calendar, now generally adopted and recognized as the only exact calculation. The inhabitants of Bamberg, where he was born, were so proud of the celebrity attained by their fellow-citizen that they promised to erect a bronze statue to him if he would return to his native town; but Clavius, who preferred his Roman observatory and his little room at the Gesù to the proposed distinction, declined the offer. He could not, however, avoid the public homage rendered to his merit by Clement VIII., who, in the bull 'Quæcumque Romanis Pontificibus,' on the 27th of March 1603, ordered that the Calendar, as reformed by the learned Jesuit, should be exclusively used throughout the Catholic world. Clavius formed pupils worthy of their master; among them Father Gregory de St. Vincent, tutor to Don John of Austria, and whom Leibnitz places on an equality with Descartes as a geometrician; and Father Matthew Ricci, the illustrious apostle of China.

The wonderful activity displayed by the Jesuits is as remarkable as the eminence attained by them in every branch of science. Thus Father Andrew Schott,† who was successively professor at Louvain, Toledo, and Rome, translated and illustrated the fathers of the Church, while publishing, at the same time, numerous classical works, written in Latin, and greatly esteemed. Father Horace Tursellinus‡ distinguished himself in the lighter branches of learning. For twenty years he was

* Born at Bamberg, 1537; died 1613.
† Born at Antwerp, 1552; died 1629.
‡ Born in Rome, 1545; died 1599.

professor of literature in Rome, and among other works he translated into Latin the letters of St. Francis Xavier. Father Possevinus, whose deeds of charity and zeal seemed more than sufficient to absorb a lifetime, yet found leisure to write several religious books, and also an account of his journey to Russia, which was published in 1586, and is one of the first works that appeared regarding that hitherto unknown country.

Father Mariana,* whose *De Rege* became a weapon in the hands of the enemies of the Society, earned a distinguished place among historians by his *History of Spain.* It is in thirty books, and is remarkable for its singular impartiality and clear, elegant, and forcible style, which gained for its author the surname of the Livy of Spain. The other work of Mariana, *De Rege et Regis institutione*, was made an occasion for accusing the Jesuits of promoting the theory of regicide. This accusation found a ready acceptance, particularly in France; and, strange to say, it was most eagerly repeated by the very persons whose teaching on the subject was really open to the charge.

In 1579 and the following years, the Sorbonne and the Paris parliament had openly professed that, for a reasonable cause, the people were not merely authorized to kill a king, but that such a deed was to be regarded as a glorious and holy act; and now they pretended to hear with horror the teaching of Father Mariana. He did not indeed deny that certain cases might arise in which it might be allowable to get rid of a tyrant; but before such a deed could become lawful so many circumstances must concur, so many conditions be fulfilled, so many points be united, that in his hands the teaching became simply theoretical, and therefore comparatively harmless. However, his doctrine was regarded as dangerous and unlawful; and though Philip II., the most despotic of princes, had authorized the book *De Rege*, it was unanimously disowned by the Society. In 1599, directly the work appeared, Father Aquaviva caused it to be revised and corrected. In 1610 he issued a decree, forbidding any Jesuit to teach the opinions expressed by Mariana on the subject of regicide; and in 1614,

* Born at Talavera in Spain, 1587; died 1624.

in another decree, he forbade the Provincials to allow any book, treating even indirectly on the subject, to be published in the Society without the approbation of Rome. It is therefore a flagrant injustice, either to make Mariana alone responsible for the fatal results of doctrines which had been far more openly taught by those around him, or to attribute to the whole Jesuit body an error of judgment, of which one member alone was guilty. The line of conduct pursued by Father Aquaviva regarding Mariana's doctrines was followed by his successors at different times; among others by the General Father John Oliva, who in 1679 wrote strongly in favour of the respect and submission to be paid even to wicked and corrupt princes.

To the great names we have just mentioned we must add that of the famous professor of theology, Father John Maldonatus,* who taught with great reputation at Paris, Pont-à-Mousson, and Rome. President de Thou, in his *Histoire Universelle*, thus mentions the death of this great man: 'The most severe loss deplored by the Christian world is that of Father Maldonatus, a Jesuit descended from a noble Spanish family and brought up in the assiduous culture of literature. Through all his course of theology and philosophy he showed singular piety, admirable purity of life, a wonderful penetration of judgment. He taught in Paris, at the Collége de Clermont, for ten years, where we heard him in the midst of an immense crowd and of universal applause.'† Such indeed was the popularity of Maldonatus in Paris that three hours before he began his philosophical lectures the doors of his classroom would be besieged by crowds of scholars, and often the multitude was so great that he had to give his lessons in an open court.

It would be endless to name all the Jesuits who, during this brilliant period, served the Church by their learning and adorned her by their sanctity. Father Joseph de Jouvency, in his *Epitome Historiæ Societatis Jesu*,‡ gives a list of the most remarkable among them. 'The first place,' he says, 'is due to

* Born in Estremadura, 1534; died 1583.

† Livre lxxix. année 1583. ‡ Vol. iv. p. 246.

those who shed their blood for the faith;' and among them he names Father Abraham Georges, killed in Ethiopia; Fathers d'Aranda, Vecchius, Montalban, Rodolph Aquaviva, and others, in India; Father Brilmaher, murdered by the German heretics; Fathers Buzelin, Everard, Sagerius, and Montanus, by the Protestants in the Low Countries; Fathers Cornelius, Campion, Briant, the two Garnets, Oldcorne, Southwell, Walpole, Brother Owen, martyred in England; Father Donald and Brother Collins in Ireland; Father Ogilvie in Scotland; the three blessed martyrs of Nangazaki, and others, in Japan; Father Laterna, put to death on the shores of the Baltic, &c. After the martyrs come the confessors, who defended the faith by their writings and extended it by their labours: Fathers Auger, Coton, Barreira, John Gerard, Thomas Pounde, Valignani, Organtini, Froës, Delrio, Oliver Manareus, Maggio, Palmio, Domenech, Parsons, Ribera, Sanchez, and others.

We may see by this rapid sketch of the illustrious men produced by the Society within fifty years of its foundation that the object of St. Ignatius had been clearly understood and faithfully carried out. It was his wish in founding his Order to place at the service of the Church a body of soldiers willing and competent to fight her battles with the twofold weapons of virtue and of learning, and his children had responded to his summons by producing countless saints and scholars, among whom the Church found her brightest ornaments and ablest defenders in these difficult and stormy times.

Moreover, St. Ignatius, perceiving that the principal means of serving religion was by the Christian education of youth, had particularly directed that the members of the Society should regard this work as one of the chief objects of their Institute, and by their own careful self-discipline should fit themselves to train other souls in the same paths of holiness and learning.

At the close of the sixteenth century, in presence of the ravages of heresy in Europe, the necessity of devoting special care to the education of youth was regarded throughout the Church as the great need of the day, and the solicitude manifested in this respect by St. Ignatius is confirmed by the decrees

of the Council of Trent. Indeed, the Council—which may be considered to represent the common opinion of the Church—seems to recognize the Society of Jesus as the instrument sent by Providence to accomplish a work of urgent necessity; in one of the decrees relating to education is this passage: 'And if Jesuits can be had they are to be preferred to all others.'*

Thus, guided by the instructions of their founder, and invested by the Church with a special mission, the Jesuits embarked upon the great work of education, in which from that day to this they have achieved admirable success.

Although the first colleges of the Society were established in the lifetime of St. Ignatius, it was only under Aquaviva's government that the plan of studies enforced in the classes was thoroughly organized. But before glancing at this programme, which, under the name of *Ratio Studiorum*, is one of the noblest productions of human wisdom, we must trace back its origin to the holy founder himself. The groundwork of the famous *Ratio* is to be found in the fourth part of the Constitutions: here St. Ignatius lays down a few clear and simple rules for the intellectual training of the members of his Order, who could only be fitted to teach others if carefully instructed themselves. Like the Church, who has ever shown herself the promoter of learning, the saint fully appreciated the immense power of knowledge for good and for evil, and every branch of human learning finds its place in his plan of studies.

He directs that the scholastics shall study grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, theology, and sacred history, canon law, eloquence, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the Fathers of the Church; and he adds that these studies must be regulated according to the age, taste, and dispositions of each member, that he who cannot embrace them all shall strive to excel in one particular branch. If necessary, the study of the Arabic, Chaldean, and Indian languages shall be added to the above programme. There is nothing narrow about the legislation of

* 'Et si reperiantur Jesuitæ, cœteris anteponendi sunt' (Declarationes Congregationis Concilii, ad sess. xxii. De Reformatione, c. xviii. no. 34). Crétineau, vol. iv. p. 211.

the soldier-saint. While giving full scope to the powers of the mind, he remembers that he is addressing men for whom intellectual cultivation is but a means of drawing the soul nearer to God, and he exhorts his religious to embrace their studies with a heart 'free from inordinate affection,' and filled with a pure zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Interior recollection and union with God are earnestly recommended, but at the same time St. Ignatius directs that, as those who are pursuing a course of study require much bodily and moral strength, they shall not be burdened with too many prayers and penances. Every detail is foreseen and provided for by this wise legislator; he even regulates the prayers to be said before class, and among the practices he most recommends, as conducive to the acquisition of eloquence, are the public disputations which have always been customary in the Order. Not only did St. Ignatius devote much time to the compilation of a plan of studies, but throughout his life he manifested a lively interest in the progress of his children. Before the Society had colleges of its own he sent the young scholastics to Paris or Coimbra, or to some other of the great universities of the day, considering no trouble or expense too great to give them a solid and complete course of instruction. These young men were generally placed under the guidance of one more experienced; thus when, as we have seen, Ribadeneira reached Paris in 1542 he found a little colony of Jesuit scholastics established there under the holy Father Domenech. They used to attend the classes of the university, and when at home were trained by their Superior to the practices of religious life. Even during their long journeys they followed a rule drawn out by St. Ignatius, and every care was taken that these distant pilgrimages in search of knowledge, rendered necessary by circumstances, should not injure their spirit of recollection and piety. From afar the saint continued to follow their progress with keenest interest; he used to oblige their Superiors to send him an exact account of their conduct, and we find him joyfully writing to his friend Peter Ortiz to tell him of the good accounts received of Ribadeneira, who was then at the University of

Padua, and who promises, he adds, 'to be a great and true servant of our Lord.'

Later on, when the Society had established its own colleges, St. Ignatius continued to follow with paternal vigilance the progress of the young Jesuits who were sent out as professors. Those who started from Rome had always to pass an examination in his presence, and he required that they should be competent to teach, if necessary, a class above the one to which they were appointed. Moreover they were told to send him a regular account of their labours and a copy of their compositions in verse or prose, and these he always found time to read in spite of his numerous occupations. The fathers who seconded him in the government of the Order shared his interest in the young scholastics; we have a charming letter written by Ribadeneira, when a student at Padua, to Father Polancus. He encloses a Latin hymn which he had composed, and which he asks the father to correct and criticise; the letter is signed, 'Your little servant in the Lord.'

Above all things St. Ignatius strove to impress upon the young professors that fidelity to the practices of religious life and purity of intention were matters of far greater importance than the mere acquisition of knowledge; and if he found that any one among them was inclined to adopt dangerous opinions he immediately withdrew him from all study, however talented he might be.

But although the fourth part of the Constitutions of the Society contains a series of rules for the direction of Jesuit professors, the holy founder, with his characteristic wisdom, abstained from making these rules irrevocable, preferring to leave to his successors the task of completing them when time and experience should have tested the value of his method. The first Generals who succeeded him added nothing to the theoretical portion of his instructions, but regulated a few practical details, according to the necessities of the time. At length, under Father Aquaviva, the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society, of which St. Ignatius had laid down the first principles, was thoroughly organised and completed. All its rules were care-

fully examined and revised, and, with the exception of a few modifications demanded by the change of times and customs, the *Ratio*, such as it was then compiled, has come down to the present date.

Composed at the end of the sixteenth century, the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society of Jesus* may be regarded as the summary of the most excellent method of education of the day. At the time when it was drawn up in 1584, the number of Jesuit colleges had increased in an extraordinary manner; the works on the classics composed by Jesuit professors were regarded as standard books throughout Europe; the excellence of their education, and the wisdom of their plan of studies, had been proved for the last forty years. It was then that Father Aquaviva determined to complete the work begun by the holy founder, and, guided by the experience of nearly half a century, to give the *Ratio* a permanent form. In order to call down the grace of God upon this great work, he ordered special prayers to be said throughout the Society; he then assembled in Rome a certain number of the most eminent members and presented them to Pope Gregory XIII., who blessed their undertaking, which, he said, concerned the welfare of the whole Church. Six fathers were selected, and to them the work was intrusted; they were chosen from different nationalities, in order that each might bring the peculiarities of his national character to bear upon a method destined to be practised in every land. Their labours lasted about a year, at the end of which time the *Ratio*, now completely organized, was submitted by Aquaviva to the examination of twelve fathers of the Roman College, remarkable for their learning and experience, and among whom was Father Maldonatus. Besides this, it was sent to all the colleges of the Society, to be practised on trial and examined by the most eminent professors in each house; three fathers being appointed to remain in Rome to receive the remarks and suggestions forwarded from the different houses. The proposed modifications were then discussed in presence of the General

* 'Etude sur l'Enseignement littéraire et le *Ratio Studiorum* de la Comp. de Jésus,' par P. Monneret, S.J. (*Etudes, rel.* &c., Oct. 1876).

and his assistants, and after they had been accepted or refused the *Ratio* was again revised, and ordered to be put into practice for another trial of three years. At length, when every means had been taken to insure its perfection, every suggestion carefully examined, every correction made that was deemed advisable, the plan of studies was finally sent by Aquaviva to the colleges of the Society, where henceforth it was to be observed with scrupulous fidelity. The Father General recommended his subjects to regard it as the fruit of many prayers, of long and patient efforts, and as the result of the combined wisdom of the whole Order.

Thus was compiled the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society of Jesus, of which Bacon has said, 'Never has anything more perfect been invented.'* It is the guide of the Jesuit professor, both as regards his own training and that of his pupils, and in the fidelity with which it has been observed lies the secret of the superiority attained by the Order in the work of education. It would be too long to enter into a detailed account of the system enforced by the *Ratio*, and it is enough to notice briefly one or two of the salient features that distinguish it from other methods; such are the importance attached to the study of the classics and to the common use of the Latin tongue, the important part assigned to the professor's oral explanations, and the stress laid on the spirit of piety to be developed at the same time as the powers of the intellect.

By devoting serious attention to the study of the ancient classics, the Jesuits only followed the general sentiment that has, in all ages, led students to turn to Greece and Rome for models of literary perfection. Cicero said, 'Antiquitas proxima accedit ad Deos,'—antiquity is nearest to God,—and this idea, sanctioned by the example of the Fathers of the Church, and eloquently developed in modern times by the Comte de Maistre,†

* *De Augmento Scientiar.* lib. i. ad init. et i. vi.: 'Ad pedagogicum quod attinet, brevissimum foret dictu: consule scholas Jesuitarum, nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius.' 'Etude sur l'Enseignement littéraire et le *Ratio Studiorum* de la Compagnie de Jésus,' par P. Monneret, S.J. (*Etudes*, Oct. 1876).

† *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, 'II. Entretien.'

has ever caused an attentive study of the ancient classics to be regarded as the essential foundation of literary education.

The merits of this system are further proved by the failure of those who adopted a contrary method, and who attempted to banish the ancients from their educational programme. But while they initiated their pupils into the literary beauty of which Greece and Rome offer such perfect models, the Jesuits carefully guarded them from the immorality that tarnishes the pages of the pagan classics, and their first care was to publish expurgated editions, from which immoral passages are scrupulously banished. Moreover, they drew lessons of Christian morality from the study even of these heathen authors, and the celebrated Jesuit professor, Father de Jouvancy, teaches the young scholastics how to increase their pupils' admiration for the Christian faith by showing them what gross superstition and vices mingled with the refinement of pagan Rome.*

The constant use of Latin is another striking characteristic of the method enforced in the *Ratio Studiorum*. It prescribed that Latin should be taught and spoken like a living language, and that, except in the case of little children, ignorant even of its first elements, it should be the only language used in class by master and pupils. In modern times, Father Roothaan,† one of the most eminent among the Generals of the Society, has illustrated with remarkable clearness the advantages of this method. He points out that a thorough knowledge of Latin is essential, not merely to ecclesiastics, but to all who desire to excel in the studies of philosophy and jurisprudence; and, moreover, that this thorough knowledge can only be acquired by a constant and familiar use of the language. The Church herself has always attached great importance to the study of Latin; it is the language in which she issues her decrees, the common bond of union between her children throughout the world. It has been remarked that in all ages heretics and schismatics have directed their first efforts against

* *Ratio Docendi*, c. i. art. 3. 'Un Professeur d'autrefois (le P. de Jouvancy), par P. Alet, S.J. (*Etudes*, Nov. Dec. 1872).

† *De Usu Linguæ latinæ.*

the general use of Latin, which they recognise to be essentially the language of the Catholic Church.

The first attempt to innovate upon this method was made by the Jansenists of Port Royal, in the seventeenth century. They introduced into their schools the system proposed by Lancelot, one of the ablest writers of the sect, who replaced the Latin grammar hitherto used by one which he himself composed in French, and where each Latin word was accompanied by its French equivalent. Though tending apparently to lighten the labour of the student and to simplify the study of the language, this method was in reality most pernicious in its effects. To the oral teaching that occupies so important a place in the *Ratio*, Lancelot's system substituted lessons learnt in a book by the pupil, and by providing him with a corresponding French term for every Latin word it indeed abridged his labour, but at the same time deprived him of a powerful stimulus to application.

The merits of the rival methods are best made known by facts. It has been proved by indisputable documents that in the ancient colleges of the Society, not only the fathers, but most of the pupils, spoke Greek with astonishing facility, and had discussions in that language, and that as a rule, after three years spent at college, they spoke and wrote Latin with perfect ease. From the moment that the system of Port Royal prevailed, and especially after the suppression of the Jesuit colleges, it is easy to trace the decline of classical studies in France.

Rollin tells us that in his time French had become the usual idiom spoken in the university classes, and that Latin had become a dead language, only sought for in books. Voltaire, in his turn, deplores the decline of literature, and D'Alembert, in 1772, excludes Latin themes and Greek theses from his programme of studies. Monsieur de Maistre attributes the degeneracy of classical studies to the system introduced by the Jansenists, and supported by the so-called philosophers. At the university established by Napoleon I., and where the Port Royal method was supreme, it was discovered that at the end of eight or nine years the students not only could not speak

Latin, but could barely understand the classical authors. The Latin grammar recommended by the *Ratio* is that composed by Father Emmanuel Alvares,* a Portuguese whose holiness equalled his ability. It was the result of long years of labour, and has excited the admiration of Catholic and Protestant students alike; in these modern days it drew forth expressions of warm approval from Villemain, the distinguished French critic and professor.

Another characteristic of the *Ratio* is the importance attached to *viva voce* teaching. The Jesuit professor has been sedulously trained for his important mission; during the two years' study that follow the novitiate he has supplied the deficiencies in his own education, and has been formed to the practice of the *Ratio*, which, like the book of the Spiritual Exercises, requires careful initiation. The part assigned to the professor by St. Ignatius is far more important and laborious than that allotted to him by the modern system. While, according to the latter, the pupil is left to seek for knowledge in his books, and the master has simply to correct his work, the Jesuit professor is called upon to instruct by oral teaching. The *Ratio* lays great stress upon the 'prelection,' or *viva voce* explanations, and demands that the professor should devote much time to preparing his explanations of the classics, so as to give his pupils a full, clear, and correct exposition of the matter in hand. With that attention to details characteristic of St. Ignatius, it even specifies that the professor should make this preparation in his own room, in order to command greater quiet and solitude.

Though demanding far more exertion on the part of the masters, this method possesses an undeniable superiority. The interest of the pupil is awakened, he is called upon to lend an attentive ear, and life and animation are given to studies which, when pursued simply by means of books, are likely to become tedious and neglected. Above all, the *Ratio* impresses upon the teacher that human knowledge is but a means of leading the soul to perfection and to God; it there-

* Died at Coimbra, 1583.

fore exhorts him to use every opportunity of drawing lessons of morality and virtue even from the study of the pagan classics; it bids him train his pupils to habits of piety and devotion, and reminds him to pray for them frequently. The celebrated Jesuit professor, Father de Jouvancy, in his treatise, *De Ratione Discendi et Docendi*, addressed to the young scholastics, quotes a beautiful prayer which he had composed for his pupils; and, among other pious practices, he recommends the professors to recite a litany composed of the patron saints of the boys in their class, in order to place each one under the protection of his heavenly namesake.

Such are a few of the leading points of the admirable and complete compilation known as the *Ratio Studiorum*; its chief characteristic is, perhaps, together with the intellectual vigour and earnestness that breathe in every line, the extreme simplicity of its method. While the system of Port Royal, adopted in modern times, tends to confuse the minds of children by filling them at once with many different objects, the *Ratio* teaches them to concentrate their attention on one given point, and never to pass to a higher branch of study until the previous one has been thoroughly mastered.

Guided by the *Ratio*, the Jesuits have at all times devoted themselves to the education of youth with an earnestness and self-sacrifice only equalled by the extraordinary success that has crowned their efforts. Men of great and brilliant attainments condemned themselves to the voluntary obscurity of a college life, and devoted their time to composing classical works for the instruction of their pupils. The most celebrated of their grammarians is, as we have already mentioned, Father Emmanuel Alvares, whose Latin grammar has been commented upon by students in all times, but never surpassed or even equalled. It has been calculated that more than three hundred Jesuits composed works on grammar only, and this in every language throughout the world. What Father Alvares did for Latin was done by others of his brethren in Greek, Hebrew, Breton, Basque, Hungarian, Illyrian, Turkish, Ethiopian, Arabian, Chaldean, Sanscrit, Chinese; and the first care

of the Jesuit missionaries on arriving among savage tribes was to arrange in a clear and concise form the principles of the native dialect, for their own use and for that of future apostles.

Monsieur Crétineau-Joly gives a spirited sketch of the labours undertaken by the Jesuits in the cause of education: 'They prepared the children of both hemispheres in the study of more than ninety-five languages, and the number of works produced by members of the Society on this dry but useful subject is over four hundred. . . . The quantities of grammars, syntaxes, and elementary books composed by the Jesuits in all the languages of the new world is something marvellous. It would be impossible to collect them and even to know their titles or their number.'*

We might easily multiply testimonies to prove the superiority attained by the Jesuits in a work to which they devoted themselves with such untiring zeal. We have already quoted the words of Bacon, Chancellor of England, who regarded their method of education as the most perfect ever invented. Cardinal de Richelieu, although he opposed the Jesuits individually when they ventured to resist his despotic sway, possessed too keen an intellect not to value them as a body. In his *Testament Politique* he pronounces himself in favour of their system as superior to that of the university.

D'Alembert, one of the bitterest enemies of the Order, observes: 'Let us add, in order to be just, that no religious society can boast of having produced so many celebrated men in science and literature. The Jesuits have successfully embraced every branch of learning and eloquence, history, antiquities, geometry, serious and poetical literature; there is hardly any class of writers in which they do not number men of the greatest merit.'† Monsieur de Bonald regarded the Institute of St. Ignatius as the most perfect ever created.

Balmès, one of the deepest Catholic thinkers of modern times, writes thus: 'It is impossible to recall the religious institutions, the political and religious history of Europe for

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. iv. pp. 189-194.
† D'Alembert, *Sur la Destruction des Jésuites.*

the last three centuries, without meeting the Jesuits at every turn; one cannot travel in distant lands, or cross unknown seas, without finding everywhere reminiscences of the Jesuits; on the other hand, one cannot approach the shelves of our libraries without remarking the writings of Jesuit authors.'*

But far more convincing than the testimonies which we might bring forward to prove the excellence of the Jesuits' system, and the extent of their influence, is the enumeration of some of the great men educated by them, and among whom we find Popes, generals, magistrates, writers, poets, &c. The Popes Gregory XIII., Benedict XIV., Pius VII.; St. Francis of Sales, Cardinal de Berulle, Bossuet, Belzunce, Cardinal de Fleury, Cardinal Frederico Borromeo, Fléchier, Cassini, Séguier, Montesquieu, Malesherbes, Tasso, Galileo, Corneille, Descartes, Molière, Jean Baptiste Rousseau, Goldoni, Tournefort, Fontenelle, Muratori, Buffon, Gresset, Canova, Tilly and Wallenstein, Condé; the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian; many princes of Savoy, Nemours, and Bavaria; Don John of Austria, were among their pupils. Most of the great men who, in France, shed so much intellectual splendour on the reign of Louis XIV. were formed by the *Ratio Studiorum*.

In accordance with the instructions of St. Ignatius, the Jesuits devoted even more care to promoting habits of piety and devotion among their pupils than to their intellectual development, and one of the chief means they employed was devotion to the Blessed Virgin. The sodalities of our Lady, now long established throughout the Catholic world, owe their origin to a young Jesuit scholastic, named John Léon, who about the year 1569 was employed as professor in the colleges of the Society in Italy. He was accustomed to assemble at stated times the most pious among the pupils in his class, in order to exhort them to the love of God and to the practice of virtue. By degrees his idea was developed, the new-born sodality was canonically erected under the patronage of Mary, and its rules were duly approved by Pope Gregory XIII., in the Bull 'Omnipotentis,' in 1584.

* *Le Protestantisme comparé au Catholicisme*, vol. ii. chap. xlvi. (edit. 1870).

The original congregation had been founded at the Roman College, but soon pious associations affiliated to the one in Rome spread beyond the Jesuit colleges far and wide through the world, and united rich and poor, noble and plebeian, religious and seculars, in a common bond of charity and devotion to Mary. A Jesuit was generally placed at the head of each local sodality, and among the names that figure on the list of members we find those of Fénélon and Tasso, St. Francis of Sales and St. Alphonsus Liguori, Ferdinand of Austria and Maximilian of Bavaria.

These confraternities proved a fruitful source of grace, and their influence for good may be justly estimated by the violent attacks directed against them both by the Protestants and by the so-called philosophers, to whose incriminations Benedict XIV. replied by the Bull 'Gloriosæ Dominæ,' September 1748. After enumerating the spiritual advantages of the sodalities, the Pope proceeded to enrich them with new favours, and himself, a former pupil of the Jesuits, recalled the lasting impression made upon him by the meetings of the confraternity which he had attended in his youth at the 'casa professa' in Rome.

We have seen how Father Claudius Aquaviva, who, perhaps, more than any General of the Order, came nearest to St. Ignatius in his talent for organization and government, completed the *Ratio*, of which the holy founder had drawn the outline. It was he, too, who first collected materials for a complete history of the Society. In order to perpetuate the ties of brotherly charity between his sons, St. Ignatius ordered that the Superiors of the different houses should frequently write to the General to give an account of the chief events that occurred. He used to have the most striking facts contained in these letters copied out and sent to the other residences and colleges, so that, although often separated by great distances, all the members of the Order might be regularly informed of their brethren's labours, successes, or sufferings. One of the chief consolations of St. Francis Xavier, in the midst of his apostolic career in the far East, was to read of the progress

made by the Society in Europe, and, in his Constitutions, St. Ignatius earnestly recommends that this frequent interchange of letters between the Father General and the different houses should be faithfully observed as the means of preserving a spirit of unity and mutual charity. The second General Congregation of the Order regulated, moreover, that the local Superiors should, every four months, send the Provincial a full report of what passed in their houses, and that, in his turn, the Provincial should address a similar report to the General. From this mass of letters a general account was to be drawn out once a year and sent to all the houses in the Order. It was in 1582, under Father Aquaviva, that the first volume of these *Annual Letters* was published; but he desired to leave to future generations a more detailed account of the labours of the Society than could be comprised in the letters, and, in a circular addressed to the Provincials, he thus proposed his plan: 'For a long time I have conceived the idea for the general welfare and satisfaction of confiding to one amongst us the charge of writing a history of the Society from its origin to our own day. But it is difficult to find one able to bear the care and labour of so vast an undertaking, and several attempts have already failed. Still, we regard it to be our duty to accomplish this work, no less on account of our predecessors than of those who may come after us; gratitude obliges us to save the virtues of the first from oblivion, while prudence commands us to provide for the instruction of the latter. We must therefore overcome the obstacles that impede the undertaking, and begin it without delay, in order that the precious memories that still live amongst us may not be lost . . .'

Then, addressing himself more especially to the Provincials, he bids them collect all the documents that might assist in the work, and also gather from trustworthy persons all possible information regarding the early days of the Society; adding with his characteristic prudence: 'But this information must be so authentic and so clearly proved that it cannot be open to doubt; it is most important, as far as possible, to invest these facts with all the circumstances of place, time, and per-

sons calculated to throw light upon them or to help to prove them. . . . Rome, September 26th, 1598.'*

The Father General's appeal was followed by an active search among the archives of the different houses, and a mass of documents was forwarded to Rome. Father Orlandini began to classify them, but died before he could print the results of his labours. In 1614, Father Sacchini edited the first part of the history, under the immediate supervision of the wisest and most learned members of the Order, who were appointed by Aquaviva to examine his labours. Later on this most important work was continued by the other annalists of the Society, Fathers de Jouvancy and Cordara, and, in accordance with the wish of Aquaviva, the edifying traditions, illustrious examples, and useful lessons which are to be found at every step in the history of the Order, were preserved for the glory of the past, and the instruction of future generations.

Almost as important in the history of the Society as the *Annual Letters* are the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, of which a brief mention may here be made. They were written by the Jesuit missionaries scattered throughout the world, and are addressed either to fathers of the Society or to learned men or royal personages.

This immense correspondence, so valuable as a truthful and graphic record of the Jesuits' apostolic labours, was carefully classified and arranged by Father du Halde, himself a remarkable historian and missionary. It not only chronicles deeds of heroism that have excited the admiration of sceptics and infidels, but it is equally precious to the cause of science and of learning; and, as Chateaubriand observes in the *Génie du Christianisme*, modern researches have only confirmed the accuracy of the statements made by the missionaries of former days.

* The original of this letter is in the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid, among papers taken from the Jesuit College of Valencia (*Hist. du P. Ribadeneira*, par P. Prat).

CHAPTER XIII.

*The English Mission of the Society under Father Claudius Aquaviva.**

At the time of the death of Father Mercurian, the last General, we left Father Parsons and Father Campion in London, beginning that life of labour and peril which for one at least was to be speedily crowned by a martyr's death.

One of the first acts of Father Parsons on arriving in England was to visit the noble confessor Thomas Pounde, who, though for many years a prisoner for the faith, had, by an extraordinary exception, been admitted into the Society of Jesus by letter two years before. Born at Belmont, near Winchester, in 1539, Thomas Pounde was noted in his youth for his personal beauty, proficiency in manly sports, courage, eloquence, and for the favour he met with at the Court of Elizabeth. A slight put upon him by the queen, for whom he had concealed, if not sacrificed, his faith, was the means by which Providence led the brilliant courtier to a higher life. In the flower of his youth he retired to his estate of Belmont, and devoted his days to prayer and penance. He was on the point of leaving England to enter the Society of Jesus in Rome, when he was arrested by order of the government, and from this moment commenced for him thirty years of imprisonment, which lasted almost without interruption till his death. Although a prisoner, Pounde continued to be an object of fear to the Protestants, and a source of strength and encouragement to the persecuted Catholics; his eloquence and skill in controversy, combined with a playfulness and humour which long years of suffering could never subdue, invariably brought to shame and confusion the Anglican divines who drew him into arguments on the

* *Jesuits in Conflict; Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers; Records of the English Province, S. J.*

subject of religion, while his indomitable energy and the letters he contrived to send to his Catholic friends powerfully contributed to strengthen them in the midst of their trials. It was at Pounde's suggestion that Father Campion made the declaration alluded to in a previous chapter, in which he declared that the Jesuits' object in coming to England was simply a religious one; and about the same time Pounde himself wrote a challenge to the Protestant ministers, in consequence of which he was transferred to a half-ruined castle on the confines of Cambridgeshire and placed in an underground cell, in complete darkness, manacled and fettered.

Father Campion's declaration having fallen into the hands of the Privy Council, measures of increased severity were resorted to against the Catholics, and under these circumstances it was thought more prudent that Parsons and Campion should separate, and should leave London for the provinces, though, indeed, there reigned all through England a system of terror that made the life of a Catholic a life of incessant alarm and anxiety. On leaving the capital Father Campion proceeded to Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, while Father Parsons travelled chiefly in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Derbyshire. The latter thus describes their mode of life: 'By the help and direction of the young gentlemen* that went with us we passed through the most part of the shires of England, preaching and administering the Sacraments in almost every gentleman's and nobleman's house that we passed by, whether he was Catholic or not, provided he had any Catholics in his house to hear us. . . . . We had our lodgings, by procurement of the Catholics within the house, in some part retired from the rest, where, putting ourselves in priests' apparel and furniture—which we always carried with us—we had secret conference with the Catholics that were there, or such as might conveniently come, whom we ever caused to be ready for that night late to pre-

* These 'young gentlemen' belonged to the association formed by Gilbert for the help of the missionaries; among them were members of many old Catholic families: Tichborne, Stonor, Fitzherbert, Arundel.

pare themselves for the Sacrament of Confession. The next morning very early we had Mass, and the Blessed Sacrament ready for such as would communicate.'* Many were the hair-breadth escapes of the two missionaries; and once Father Campion was only saved by the presence of mind of a servant-maid, who in affected anger pushed him into a pond, whence he came out covered with mud and perfectly unrecognizable.

A new impulse was given to the search for the Jesuits in April 1581 by the publication of Campion's famous book, *Decem Rationes*, where he enumerates the ten reasons on which he founded his hope of victory in a proposed controversial dispute with the universities. The book was printed at a private press established by Father Parsons, and it created intense anger and anxiety among the Anglican ministers. The great scholars of the day praised its purity of diction, and a contemporary writer, Muretus, calls it 'a golden book, truly written by the finger of God;'† but its value is best estimated by the unmeasured abuse with which it was met among Protestants, the terror it created in the Privy Council, the unfairness of the few public disputations its author was allowed on the subject, and the cruel death which it drew upon him.

For some time longer Father Campion eluded the pursuit of his enemies, but at last his hour came. In July 1581 he was staying at Lyford Castle, in Berkshire, the seat of Mr. Yates; he was there on the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, and when he preached on the Gospel, 'When Jesus drew near to Jerusalem, He wept over it,' those present declared that they had never heard him so eloquent. Among his hearers was a man named Eliot, who even by Protestants was afterwards surnamed Judas; and it was he who on the 17th of July returned to Lyford with the pursuivants and arrested Father Campion and two secular priests, also hidden in the house. Five days later the prisoners made their public entry into London; the Jesuit's hands were tied on his breast, and on his hat was a paper with the words, 'Campion, the seditious Jesuit.' As he passed the cross in Cheapside he made a low reverence, and

* Stonyhurst MSS. † Crétineau-Joly, vol. ii. p. 221.

crossed himself as best he could, at which the mob hissed and laughed. The natural gentleness and courtesy which rendered Father Campion so lovable never deserted him. On reaching the Tower he turned to his guards, forgave them any wrong he had received, and assured them that he grieved far more for their blindness than for his own troubles.

The captive was now subjected to a period of solitary confinement, during which nothing was known of him but what the authorities chose to publish. The rules for the treatment of those who, like Father Campion, were sentenced to 'close imprisonment' are still upon record; their windows were blocked up, and light and air conveyed to them through a tunnel, glazed or latticed at the top and closed at the bottom with a casement. The lieutenant of the Tower was always present when a keeper held communication with a close prisoner, and the key of his cell was always in that officer's custody. As a priest and a Jesuit, Campion was treated with peculiar severity; he remained for several days in a dungeon called 'the little ease,' where he could scarcely move, and three times he was subjected to the torture of the rack with such violence that he thought the end had come.

Throughout this terrible ordeal, the solitary confinement and the cruel torture, Campion's fortitude remained unshaken; not only did he refuse to renounce his faith, but he steadfastly declined to reveal the names of those who had sheltered him or received the Sacraments at his hands. Nevertheless, the government, hoping to discourage his friends and to destroy his influence, spread the report that he had conformed to the established religion; and though a little later the martyr's public trial and glorious death sufficiently destroyed this unscrupulous statement, it in the mean time greatly alarmed Thomas Pounde, who had lately been transferred to the Tower, where a copy of Campion's supposed confessions had been placed in his hands.

Elizabeth, it appears, greatly desired to see the man, of whose learning and eloquence she had heard so much, and by her orders Campion was brought to Lord Leicester's house on

the evening of the 25th of July. A strange interview it must have been between the relentless Tudor queen and the victim of her despotic power, and in the worn and broken captive before her Elizabeth can scarcely have recognised the brilliant scholar who had harangued her at Oxford fifteen years before. It is related that she offered him life, liberty, riches, and honours, but on conditions he could not accept; and the Earls of Leicester and Bedford, who had known him in his Oxford days, were present and pitied him, saying that they had no fault to find with him except that he was a Papist: 'which,' rejoined the martyr, 'is my greatest glory.'

A discussion, which was in some degree public, subsequently took place between Father Campion and some Protestant ministers, and continued for three or four days. Although the Jesuit was weak from recent torture, and was, moreover, allowed no books, with which his adversaries were well supplied, and had no chair to rest his aching limbs, he spoke so well and convincingly that many who had entered the Tower chapel full of hatred against the faith quitted it with very opposite feelings. Yet nothing could be more unjust than the whole proceeding. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and Day, Dean of Windsor, were the objecting parties. Father Campion was to reply to their difficulties, but was to make none. They had all the time and assistance they required to prepare, while he was only informed of the subject under discussion just before he was led to the chapel. One of the lords of the council, who assisted at the dispute, is said to have observed to the queen that, 'if that man was suffered to live, he was enough to pervert the whole realm.'

Thomas Pounde was present at the most celebrated of these discussions, held in the Tower chapel on the last day of August. Then were set at rest the doubts that had tormented him as to his friend's constancy; and he saw that neither isolation, nor torture, nor every species of treachery and injustice had been able to weaken Campion's splendid intellect and eloquence, or to damp his heroic courage. In his enthusiasm for the martyr's defence, and his indignation at the unfairness

with which he was treated, Pounde appears to have got excited, for Nowell complained of his 'odious interpellations,' and of his 'most scornful looks through his fingers.' On the 14th of November following, Father Campion and seven others were brought from the Tower to the King's Bench, where, to their surprise, they heard for the first time that they were accused of conspiracy against the life of the queen. As was the custom, the prisoners were directed to hold up their hands on pleading; but those of Father Campion were so disabled by the torture that he could not raise them as high as the rest. Seeing this, one of his companions tenderly kissed the wounded hand, and helped the martyr to raise it; and, while he did so, Campion solemnly protested against the utter wickedness of the charge of treason. Even the particulars of the pretended plot were specified to the astonished prisoners, who were charged with having conspired at Rheims or at Rome, in the months of April and May of the preceding year; whereas several of them had not been out of England for many years, and most of them had never been to either Rheims or Rome, and had never even seen each other before. They were, however, of course found guilty, and condemned to die for high treason, though they declared that, whatever might be pretended, religion was their only offence; and, in proof of their assertion, remarked that life and liberty had been offered to each, provided they would conform to the Established Church. So clear is the injustice with which the accused were treated that it has been acknowledged by Hallam and other Protestant writers. The very judges themselves were so fully aware of the utter falseness of the accusations that Edmund Plowden, the famous lawyer, and himself a Catholic, was requested to leave the court, as the judges were unwilling that he should report or even witness the trial.

In the name of all present Father Campion victoriously refuted the charges of disloyalty and treason. 'Never,' says Father Fitzherbert, in his book on *Policy and Religion*, 'was Campion's face more noble. His conduct during the day had been full of calmness and dignity, and his arguments of point and

conclusiveness; but in this last speech he surpassed himself.' The prisoners forgot their unjust sentence as they listened to him; and Father Cottam, one of them, exclaimed that he was quite willing to die after hearing Campion speak so gloriously.

Owing to the visit to London of the Duke of Anjou, who was supposed to be the queen's affianced husband, it was thought impolitic to execute so many priests; three victims only were therefore selected for immediate execution. They were Campion, Sherwin, a secular priest, and Alexander Briant, who had been received into the Society of Jesus during his imprisonment in the Tower. He was only twenty-eight years of age, and, when a student at Oxford, had been the pupil of Father Parsons, whose aged father he was afterwards the means of reconciling to the Church. His wonderful beauty caused him to be surnamed, when a boy, the 'beautiful Oxford youth;' and on the gallows, after imprisonment, hunger, and torture had done their worst, his angelic countenance still drew forth expressions of admiration from the mob assembled to see him die. On account of his intimacy with Father Parsons, whose place of shelter the government wished particularly to discover, Father Briant was treated with peculiar cruelty. He was racked, kept without food for several days, submitted to the terrible torture called 'the scavenger's daughter,' and needles were thrust under his nails; but in the midst of torments he only laughed, and refused to answer any questions put to him.

The 1st of December following, in the gloom and rain of a winter's morning, the three martyrs, after holding some conversation together, were led to the hurdles. Campion cheerfully saluted all present, saying: 'God save you all, gentlemen, and make you all good Catholics.' Then he knelt, and prayed with his face to the east, saying: 'In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum;' after which he lay down, and was tied to the hurdle alone, the two other prisoners following on another. Contemporary writers have chronicled with loving care some incidents of that Via Dolorosa through the mud and dirt of the London streets, through Cheapside and Holborn, to

the Tyburn Gate, where in bygone days Campion had never passed without baring his head. The Protestant minister, who had been the father's bitterest opponent, followed the hurdle, 'fierce and violent upon God's saints.' Here and there some Catholic, bolder than the rest, approached the sufferers; and a priest who was present relates that one gentleman, seeing Father Campion's face covered with mud, courteously wiped it; 'for which charity,' adds the narrator, 'God reward and bless him.' As the hurdles were dragged under the arch of Newgate Father Campion raised himself, with a great effort, and saluted a statue of our Lady, which still stood in a niche, untouched by axe or hammer. Priests who saw the martyrs pass by always declared that they had a smile on their faces, and that as they approached Tyburn they actually laughed. At this there was a cry among the people: 'See, they laugh; they don't care for death!'

On reaching the place of execution, Father Campion gravely and sweetly began to address the multitude; but he was rudely interrupted by the sheriffs, who bade him confess his treason. He replied by protesting his innocence; and when told to pray for the queen, replied: 'Yes, for Elizabeth, your queen and mine, to whom I wish a long quiet reign and all prosperity.' While he was still speaking the cart was drawn away; and he peacefully yielded up his soul to God. He was then cut down and quartered. Sherwin died next. He declared briefly that he was no traitor to the queen; and his last words were: 'Jesus, Jesus, be to me a Jesus!' The people all cried: 'Good Mr. Sherwin, the Lord God receive your soul;' and continued to cry even after he was dead. Alexander Briant was the last. His youth and courage, and the heavenly expression of his beautiful face, made a deep impression on the multitude, especially when he said that he greatly rejoiced that God had chosen him to die for the faith with Father Campion, whom he revered with all his heart. To the end peculiar suffering was to be his portion. Owing to some negligence on the part of the hangman, he was cut down alive, and died under the executioner's knife. Great precautions were

taken to prevent the Catholics from obtaining any relics of the martyrs; but one of Campion's arms was stolen from the gate where it was exposed, and Father Parsons obtained the halter with which he was hung, and always carried it round his neck. It is now at Stonyhurst.

The effect produced by this unjust execution was the reverse of that desired by the government, as is proved by the writings of several Protestant contemporaries, and, among others, by a memoir of Sir Francis Bacon, dated 1583, in which he advises the queen not to put Catholics to death; 'for this,' he says, 'doth by no means lessen them, since we find by experience that, like hydra's heads, upon cutting one off seven grow up.' Henry Walpole, upon whom fell a drop of Campion's blood, and who dated his religious vocation from that moment, estimates the number of persons converted on the spot at 1000; and soon afterwards Father Parsons wrote to Rome that 4000 persons had lately entered the Church, adding that the Catholic cause had gained much from the unjust death of the three priests.

We have dwelt at some length upon the history of the protomartyr of the English Jesuits; but it is impossible to take leave of him without a mention of the faithful lay-brother Ralph Emerson, whom Campion, in his letters to the General, calls 'my little man.' 'He was indeed small in stature,' says Father Gerard, who knew him well, 'but in steadfastness and endurance he was great.' Brother Ralph was Father Campion's constant companion during his journeys in England; but at the time of his arrest he had been sent to fetch his papers in Lancashire. He afterwards returned to France, and was employed in conveying religious books over to England. He was arrested when engaged on this perilous undertaking, and sent to the Clink prison, where he met Father Gerard; then to Wisbeach, in the fen country, where he found several other members of the Society. On the accession of James I. he was banished from the kingdom with many other Catholics; and half paralysed and much broken in health he returned to St. Omer, where he died soon afterwards, having spent twenty years in the English prisons.

In the year that followed Father Campion's death Father Thomas Cottam, who had been tried at the same time, was executed at Tyburn. He was a convert of Thomas Pounde, who, while his brethren in the Society were thus shedding their blood for Christ, was dragged from one prison to another, until, after thirty years' captivity, he was liberated on bail by James I. He then retired to his house at Belmont, where he died in 1615. During his long imprisonment Pounde's joyous temper and enduring courage never failed. Even when a captive he was so powerful in drawing persons to the faith that his persecutors regarded him with undisguised alarm, and dragged him from prison to prison, in order to hinder his apostolic labours. To the privations imposed upon him he added so many voluntary penances that the Father General wrote to exhort him to moderate his austerities. It is characteristic of Pounde that he was always anxious that his dress should be bright and gay, saying that to a prisoner of Jesus Christ, who might at any time be called out to die, every day was a solemn feast. The bold cheerful spirit that counted sacrifice a joy breaks out in a letter written by the aged confessor to Father Parsons a short time before his death, and it is touching to note the childlike simplicity with which he gives an account of his daily life and the filial affection with which he speaks of the Society and the Father General.

Like Thomas Pounde, George Gilbert had, it has been seen, sacrificed brilliant worldly prospects for the sake of religion; he was Father Parsons's constant companion in his hair-breadth escapes, and his assistant in all his perilous undertakings; and for this reason was eagerly sought for by the Privy Council. At length, finding it impossible to conceal him any longer, Father Parsons sent him to Rome with a letter for Pope Gregory XIII., to whom he is warmly recommended as having rendered invaluable service to the cause of religion in England.

Gilbert was received with paternal affection by the Holy Father and by Father Aquaviva. His one desire was to enter the Society; but his admission was delayed for a time in order

that he might be employed more freely on important negotiations connected with religion in England; in the mean time, however, he led the life of a religious at the English College. He was on the eve of being sent to France on an important mission, when he fell dangerously ill. At first he grieved bitterly to think that he must renounce the martyr's palm, which he so ardently desired; but soon he peacefully submitted to God's holy will. During his agony he used to converse with Campion, Sherwin, and Briant, as though they were present at his side; and in his dying grasp he held the wooden cross carved in the Tower by Alexander Briant. He made his vows as a Jesuit on his deathbed, and was buried at Sant Andrea among the novices of the Society.

In the mean time the government in England was issuing new and still more severe laws against the missionaries. Father Campion and his companions had suffered for a pretended conspiracy; but in 1585 a law was passed that made the mere presence of a priest in England high treason. But this increase of rigour was powerless to check the ardour with which priests poured into the island; and in the midst of these daily scenes of devoted zeal the Order of Jesus bravely bore its part. In 1581 it gave to heaven its first English martyrs; in 1598 there were sixteen Jesuits scattered over the country; and in 1628 their numbers had risen to 248. Three years after the death of Father Campion, Father Weston landed in England, and laboured on the mission with great success for two years, during which he converted among others Philip, Earl of Arundel, the future confessor and martyr. Conversions were so numerous, in spite of the terrible laws against the Catholics, that Anthony Tyrell, an apostate priest, when examined on the subject in 1602, owned that in six months five hundred, or 'some have said three or four hundred,' persons were reconciled to the Church. Many of these conversions were caused by the impression produced by the exorcisms of Father Weston, who, in his autobiography, written by command of the General, gives a curious account of the number of possessed persons then to be found in England. The same document gives some of the father's

adventures, which, though related with the utmost simplicity, have the thrilling interest of a romance. Once he ran a serious risk through the carelessness of his companion, who dropped upon the high-road a quantity of altar-breads; happily, although they fell near cottages, and even outside a minister's house, they were not discovered, or 'it would have brought endless trouble upon the Catholics in the neighbourhood.'

In July 1588, Father Henry Garnett and Father Robert Southwell landed in England, and Father Weston went to meet them at a Catholic house in Berkshire belonging to a Mr. Bold. Father Garnett, the future Provincial of the English Jesuits, was then thirty-three years of age, and remarkable for his great ability and holiness. His companion, Father Southwell, was a poet and a scholar of a singularly refined and gentle character. When a child, he was stolen by a beggar-woman, but happily restored to his parents; and, strangely enough, when a missionary in England, he accidentally came across this same woman, whom he converted to the faith. The few days that the three fathers spent together at the house of Mr. Bold seem like a brief gleam of sunshine amidst those troubled times. All the family and servants were Catholics; and others had come from afar to enjoy the rare blessing of the presence of the priests. 'We spent a whole week there,' writes Father Weston, to the incredible joy of all. . . 'Thus during the course of those days we celebrated, as it were, the long octave of some magnificent festival.' For Father Weston this interval of peace was the prelude of fifteen years' captivity; as on his return to London he fell into the hands of the 'pursuivants,' and was thrown into the Clink prison—a fruitless attempt being made to implicate him in Babington's plot in favour of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Clink was at that time full of Catholics; and the father relates how, by means of a rope which was let down from a window in the early morning, they were able to obtain the necessary articles for the priests to say Mass. After about a year's imprisonment, during which he resolutely stopped any attempts made by his friends to obtain his release, Father Weston was removed to Wisbeach Castle, near Ely, in a lonely

spot among the fens. Here he found two Jesuits—Thomas Pounde and Father Metham—who, in 1592, 'painlessly and without any agony slept in peace;' and from thirty to forty Catholics, priests and laymen. The former contrived to serve the cause of religion even in prison, and converted many Protestants to the faith; while to the persecuted Catholics of England the lonely castle among the fens became a sacred place of pilgrimage, to which they flocked in such numbers that the government complained it was growing as dangerous as a seminary college. Several of the most noted prisoners were in consequence removed to the Tower, among them Father Weston, who was confined in a cell so dark that his eyesight failed him through his efforts to read his Bible. He was, moreover, utterly isolated; and during four years and a half he never exchanged a word with a friend. His only visitors were his jailer, who used to beat him to make him give up his rosary, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who overwhelmed him with insults. At the end of two years he was allowed to go on the roof of the Tower, above his cell; 'but this involved being locked out there, solitary as before, exposed to all weathers, until, the last thing at night, his keeper came to take him back to his comfortless cell, sometimes wet through and stiff with cold.' One day the Earl of Essex, visiting the Tower, saw the leads where Father Weston was spending his solitary hours on his knees. The earl gazed for some time on the still and lonely figure; then, turning to those near him, observed: 'I should not think he was the great traitor they make him out to be.' When, in May 1603, on the accession of James I., Father Weston was released and sentenced to exile, thousands crowded on the Tower quay to see the famous Jesuit who had been fifteen years in prison, and the Catholics pressed forward to kiss his hands. The half-blind and infirm confessor was welcomed with deepest veneration at St. Omer, and then at Valladolid and Seville, where he was sent in hopes that the southern climate might restore his health. He so far recovered that he was able to discharge various duties in the colleges, and died in 1615, Rector of the Seminary of Valladolid.

While Thomas Pounde and William Weston were wearing away their lives in solitary captivity, others of their brethren, after a short sharp struggle, gained the martyr's palm. In 1594, Father John Cornelius was executed at Dorchester, and the following year Father Southwell died at Tyburn. The letters, written by the latter to the Father General, give a graphic picture of the condition of the English Catholics: 'deplorable, and full of fears and dangers.' It is hard for their descendants in the nineteenth century to realise what the lives of their ancestors must have been in those days of relentless persecution. No wonder that the spirit of detachment, of which Father Southwell so often speaks, was developed in men who, from their cradles, had learnt the meaning of torture and confiscation, to whom the names of the hideous gallows, the rack, the iron gauntlets were household words; men baptized by hunted priests, and who, perchance, had knelt when children to receive the blessing of a martyr on his way to execution. Nurtured in the midst of terror, fed with daily narratives of suffering and death, taught wisdom beyond their years by the need for silence and secrecy, the Catholics of those days must have realised the full meaning of the 'Sursum corda;' and hearts, to whom life was so bitter, naturally turned towards heaven.

Betrayed at last into the hands of his enemies, Father Southwell was delivered over to the notorious priest-hunter, Topcliffe, by whom he was tortured with indescribable cruelty. He was then transferred to the Tower, where he remained two years and a half, and was tortured thirteen times. A woman on service at the prison related that, when he was utterly exhausted, burning wine was poured down his throat, which made him throw up a quantity of blood. In February 1595 he was removed to Newgate, tried for his priesthood, and sentenced to die at Tyburn. Throughout his long and cruel sufferings Father Southwell's sweetness and courage had never failed. On his way to execution, the radiant expression of his countenance struck all present; and as he breathed his last, Lord Mountjoy, who presided over the execution, exclaimed: 'May my soul be one day with that of this man!'

Foremost on the list of the English confessors of the Order of Jesus are the five Walpoles. Father Henry, the most famous, was arrested the very day after his arrival in England, and after having been tortured fourteen times in the Tower was executed at York in 1595. His brothers Richard, Christopher, and Michael, his cousin Edward, and Christopher Walpole, alias Warner, a distant relative, all entered the Society, and filled important posts, both on the English mission and in the colleges abroad.

In February 1601, Father Roger Filcock, a Jesuit, was executed at Tyburn at the same time as his dearest friend, Father Barkworth, a Benedictine. The son of St. Ignatius and the child of St. Benedict, so closely united in life, gained the martyr's crown together, and with them died a brave Catholic woman, Anne Line, who was condemned for having given shelter to priests. She was a penitent of Father Filcock, and a friend of Father Gerard, who relates that, when she was brought to trial on the charge of harbouring priests, to the question of 'guilty, or not guilty?' she replied, in a loud voice, 'My lord, nothing grieves me but that I could not receive a thousand more.'

Father John Gerard, whose name has already occurred in these pages, has left an autobiography and a narrative of the Gunpowder Plot that are not only full of thrilling interest, but valuable as historical documents. His energy and talent rendered him peculiarly useful to the persecuted Catholics; but after much fruitful labour and many narrow escapes he was arrested in London, and confined first in the Counter and then in the Clink prison. Here he found a number of Catholics, and having converted his jailer, he was able to say Mass and administer the Sacraments. He even exercised a considerable influence outside the prison-walls, rendered great service to the missionaries, and brought many Protestants into the Church. At length, however, the attention of government was attracted to Father Gerard, who, in 1597, was transferred to the Tower. In his own narrative we find a detailed and most interesting account of his captivity; his joy at finding the name of Henry

Walpole the martyr cut with a knife on his prison-wall; his repeated torturings and graphic description of the 'intense pain,' which, however, never shook his courage. It is a relief to turn from the sickening account of the brave father's sufferings to that of his bold escape from the Tower 'on St. Francis's day at night,' 1595. With the help of John Lilly and Richard Fulwood, both of whom became lay-brothers of the Society, he let himself down by a rope from the little tower where he was confined, commending himself all the time to the martyrs of his Order who had been imprisoned in the Tower, and to whose intercession he attributed the success of his perilous undertaking.

After his escape Father Gerard resumed his apostolic labours both in London and in the country, and converted many heretics to the faith. His chief friend was the young and chivalrous Sir Everard Digby, whose name is prominently brought before us in connection with the famous plot that, about this period, involved the Catholics of England in fresh difficulties and sufferings.

On the 24th of March 1603, after a reign of forty years, the queen died, and, with the accession of James I., the son of Mary Stuart, the hopes of the persecuted Catholics revived. At first there appeared every reason to trust to the realisation of these hopes: James solemnly promised several Catholics, who came to congratulate him on his accession, that all Catholics in his dominions should be allowed to have priests and Sacraments in their houses, and he made the same declaration to foreign powers. A very short experience, however, sufficed to show the faithlessness of the new monarch. Not only were the laws of the late queen not repealed or mitigated, but new and additional acts of severity were enacted against the followers of the ancient faith. The great bulk of Catholics, although bitterly disappointed, submitted with resignation; but there were some few who, maddened by the king's baseness and by the sufferings inflicted on their brethren in the faith, conceived the idea of resorting to violence, and planned the destruction of the monarch who had so cruelly deceived them.

Chief of these was Catesby, the descendant of an ancient Warwickshire family, who, after a dissipated youth, had become a Catholic and renounced his evil habits. He was the principal promoter of the plot, either of his own accord or at the instigation of a certain minister of state, who was supposed to have a great hand in the contrivance of the plot, and to have been particularly desirous to draw the Jesuits into some share of the odium arising from it. Catesby's first associates were Thomas Percy, of the family of the Earls of Northumberland; Thomas Winter, of Worcestershire; John Wright, a Yorkshire gentleman, and his younger brother Christopher,—all men of high character; and lastly, Guy Fawkes, who had been a soldier in the Low Countries, and was known for his enterprising and reckless temper. To these men Catesby proposed his scheme, which was to blow up the Houses of Parliament when the king was present. 'The nature of the disease was such,' he said, 'that it required so sharp a remedy.' His plan was accepted, and all bound themselves to secrecy. 'Especially,' says Father Gerard, 'they meant to keep it from their ghostly fathers, and all kinds of religious men or priests, knowing well they should never have their assent to an action of that kind.' A little later, however, Catesby, having scruples as to the nature of the enterprise, asked Father Garnett, Provincial of the English Jesuits, in a disguised manner how far it might be lawful for an oppressed party to proceed in destroying a town of the enemy. It was impossible to seize the real drift of the conspirator's idea through these ambiguous terms, and the father answered wisely and prudently, the real question having been left completely in the dark. Soon afterwards Father Garnett's suspicions were aroused by Catesby's mysterious absences and meetings with his friends, and, fearing that some blow against the government was meditated, he wrote to Rome to request that the Pope should send the English Catholics strict orders, forbidding them to repel by force the persecutions to which they were subjected. Father Garnett sent several letters to Rome on the same subject; in one, written in cipher, he repeats urgently, 'Let the Pope forbid all Catholics to stir;'

and another shows that, so far from abetting the conspirators, the Jesuits had earned the ill-will of the more turbulent among the Catholics by their opposition to anything like violence on the part of the oppressed. In May 1605 he writes: 'All are desperate; divers Catholics are offended with Jesuits; they say that Jesuits do impugn and hinder all forcible enterprises. I dare not inform myself of their affairs, because of the prohibition of Father General for meddling in such affairs.' When he wrote these lines, which are in themselves sufficient proof of his endeavours to hinder any rebellious proceedings, Father Garnett had only a vague suspicion that something was brewing; but, some weeks later, Catesby, either from a troubled conscience, or, as Challoner insinuates, at the suggestion of the minister of state, who wished to implicate the Jesuits in the plot, laid open the whole design in confession to Father Tesimond, alias Greenaway. Struck with horror, the confessor represented to him in vain the wickedness of his project; but at length Catesby consented that the case should be communicated by Father Tesimond to Father Garnett under the seal of confession, and, if the matter should become known by other means, he gave permission to both to make any use of the knowledge they might consider desirable. Father Garnett, unable to reveal the conspiracy, did his best to avert it, and so far prevailed upon Catesby that he promised no attempt should be made without the permission of the Holy See, which the father knew would never be obtained. However, instead of abiding by this engagement, Catesby proceeded in his arrangements. A room was hired under the Houses of Parliament, barrels of powder were prepared, and other misguided men drawn into the plot. These were one Bates, a servant of Catesby, a man of weak intellect and no courage; Ambrose Rokewood, a Suffolk gentleman, only twenty-six years of age, the heir to an ancient property; John Gaunt, a Warwickshire squire, 'fierce as a lion,' says Father Gerard, 'who used to pay the priest-hunters with cracked crowns and dry blows;' Robert Keyes, and Francis Tresham. This last had been sought only on account of his great wealth, and was in the end one of the

chief instruments for bringing about the discovery of the whole design. It is sad to think how, with barely one or two exceptions, the conspirators were men of faith, piety, and honour, worthy to die in a better cause, and whose subsequent repentance proved that their right principles had been obscured, not destroyed. While regarding the wholesale massacre thus coolly planned with unmitigated horror it is impossible at the same time not to reflect how intense must have been the suffering and how relentless the persecution that could drive men of pure and honourable character to so cruel and guilty a deed. In no instance is this so strongly exemplified as in the case of Sir Everard Digby, the noblest of the misguided men, whose conduct can only be explained by the aberration of mind produced by long oppression. 'There was not such a man among them,' pathetically says Father Gerard. 'It was hard to know and not to love him.' He was only twenty-seven, handsome, rich, skilled in all arts, a rider, a musician, and, besides all this, a generous friend of the hunted priests, to whom his house was always open. It was arranged that he should remain in Warwickshire, and, on hearing of the success of the attempt in London, should raise the country and proclaim king one of the young princes. The other conspirators assembled in London, and all was ready, when an anonymous letter, attributed to Francis Tresham, was sent to Lord Mounteagle to put him on his guard. Immediately the alarm was given, the cellars below the room where the parliament was to assemble were searched, and Guy Fawkes was seized and imprisoned, while the other conspirators were actively pursued. Wright, Catesby, and Percy were slain while defending themselves at the house of Mr. Littleton, near Stourbridge, and all their accomplices were captured and conveyed to the Tower. Here, in their repeated examinations, they constantly affirmed that no other Catholics knew of the plot, and that the priests were in no way accessory to it; thus disappointing the Puritans, who hoped that all the Catholics in England would be implicated. It became clear, even to the bitterest enemies of the faith, that the conspirators alone were cognisant of the contemplated crime. The govern-

ment, however, had resolved that the Jesuits at least should not escape, and Bates, Catesby's servant, 'being urged,' says Father Gerard, 'by persons of great authority, to confess some proofs or likelihood that the Jesuits were in this action,' said that shortly before the discovery of the plot Catesby had met Fathers Garnett, Tesimond, and Gerard at the house of some nobleman. This assertion was afterwards proved to be utterly false, but an order was issued for the apprehension of the three Jesuits. Father Tesimond succeeded in escaping to France in a small boat laden with dead pigs, and Father Gerard, after remaining concealed for some time, likewise crossed the Channel;* but Father Garnett was arrested at Henlip in Worcestershire, the seat of Mr. Abington, together with Father Oldcorne and a lay-brother, Nicolas Owen, generally known as Little John. So anxious was the government that Father Garnett should be convicted that he underwent no less than twenty-three examinations before the Lords of the Council, but nothing upon which he could be convicted appeared. His jailer was directed to feign an interest in him, and to allow him to write to his friends letters which were intercepted and carried to the Privy Council; but even this trick failed to bring out anything that could be used against him. At length Cecil, Earl of Shaftesbury, 'who,' says Challoner, 'knew perhaps more of the affair than any one living,' caused Father Oldcorne to be placed in a chamber adjoining Father Garnett's prison, where they might converse together through a hole in the wall, and be overheard by men placed in ambush for the purpose. The stratagem succeeded: Father Garnett gladly embraced

* Father Gerard became novice-master at Louvain, but his well-known fearless character, and probably the information he possessed regarding the real working of the plot, rendered him, even at a distance, an object of alarm to the English Government, and he was removed to Spain, and thence to Rome, where he died in 1637, surrounded with love and veneration. It is a curious fact that, at the time of the suppression of the Society, a commission came to Rome from England, supposed to be given by the court, in order to purchase, at any price, any relation of the Gunpowder Plot found among the archives of the Jesuits. Happily Father Gerard's original narrative, written in his own hand, escaped and was preserved to the Society (*Condition of Catholics under James I.*, p. ccli.).

the opportunity to make his confession, and, on being asked by Father Oldcorne whether he was still under examination about the plot, he replied, 'They have no proof that I have any knowledge about the matter; there is but one man on earth' (meaning Father Tesimond) 'who can prove that I had.' These words were overheard by the spies and reported to the Council, upon which Father Garnett was again examined. When the whole story was related to him he said that, the matter having now come to light by other means, he was free to acknowledge what he had hitherto been bound to conceal; that he had been told of the conspiracy under the seal of confession by Father Tesimond; and that both of them had made every effort to dissuade the conspirators from their criminal design. The father persisted in this simple declaration, although he was watched on purpose, and kept from sleep to make his head light; thus on one occasion he was prevented sleeping for five nights together previous to his examination by the Privy Council. Moreover, he was racked, and his food and drink were drugged, in order, says Father Gerard, to 'obscure his understanding and distemper his body.'

Meantime, the testimonies of the other prisoners had been sufficient to clear the Jesuits in the eyes of any impartial person. Digby, Gaunt, and their accomplices were tried at Westminster in January 1606; and the attorney-general, Sir Edward Coke, having asserted that the Jesuits had abetted the plot, the prisoners vehemently protested that the charge was untrue. Sir Everard Digby, in particular, defended his friend, Father Gerard. 'I never durst tell him of it,' he said, 'for fear he would have drawn me out of it.' Bates, whose deposition had implicated the fathers, wrote to say that he bitterly repented having made this false assertion, and that he had done so in the hope of saving his own life. On January 8, Digby, Gaunt, Robert Winter, and Bates were executed in St. Paul's Churchyard. Sir Everard retained to the last his chivalrous and Christian bearing; he went up the scaffold saying his prayers, having stoutly declined the ministrations of the Protestant divines; made an eloquent and manly speech, in which he ac-

knowledged his treason; begged pardon for having transgressed the laws, and implored the prayers of all the Catholics present. John Gaunt and Winter showed equal courage and prayed fervently, and Bates died regretting his perjury. The next day Rokewood, Thomas Winter, Keyes, and Fawkes were executed at the old palace at Westminster. As they passed along the Strand, Rokewood saw his wife at a window, and called out to her, 'Pray for me, pray for me!' to which she replied, 'I will; be of good courage, and offer thyself wholly to God. I, for my part, do as freely restore thee to God as He gave thee unto me.' On the scaffold Rokewood prayed for the king and begged pardon for his treason; and Thomas Winter spoke to clear the Jesuits once more from all share in the plot.

The 28th of March following Father Garnett was brought to trial at the Guildhall on the charge of high treason, the king and many of the nobility being present. It was expected that he had lost his senses in consequence of the treatment he had undergone, but his appearance at the trial sufficiently proved that his intellect was as clear as ever, his firmness unshaken, and that the gentleness which had made Father Aquaviva call him 'the Lamb' was unimpaired by the cruelties inflicted on him. The attorney-general spoke for several hours, introducing a multitude of odious accusations against the Jesuits in England, and charging them with every plot of the late queen's reign as well as with the present conspiracy. The father made an excellent defence of the Society and of his own conduct; he spoke with so much presence of mind, modesty, and talent that many who had come into court violently prejudiced against him went out convinced of his innocence. He was of course condemned; and five weeks later, on the 3d of May, he was led to execution in St. Paul's Churchyard. The place was so crowded that it was necessary to pay twelve pence to obtain room to stand; and the mob, which beforehand had been reviling the prisoner, was struck dumb by his holy and majestic appearance. In the speech he addressed to the assembled crowd the father alluded to

the feast of the day, the Finding of the Holy Cross. 'Upon this day,' he said, 'I thank God I have found my cross, by which I hope to end all the crosses of my life.' He then exhorted the Catholics present to abstain from all conspiracies against the king, and declared that he was innocent of the treason imputed to him; and with the words, 'Fix Thy Cross in my heart, O Lord,' on his lips, his holy soul passed away to eternal rest. So deep was the impression produced on the crowd by his calmness and dignity, that when the executioner was about to cut him down alive there was a universal cry of 'Hold, hold!' and on all sides people were heard to say that 'questionless his soul was in heaven.' Among his own brethren, the memory of the martyred Provincial was cherished with extraordinary veneration; Aquaviva, Bellarmine, Parsons, and all those who had known him best regarded him as a man of rare ability and of incomparable sanctity. His sweetness of disposition caused him to be especially beloved; and Father Parsons observes that during the eighteen years he governed the mission, amidst most difficult circumstances, not one of his fellow-religious nor any one of the secular clergy ever uttered a complaint against him.

Father Edward Oldcorne, alias Hall, who was arrested with Father Garnett, was, like him, imprisoned in the Tower, where he was racked five different times and each time for five or six hours. Although no evidence could be found against him, he was condemned and executed at Worcester in April 1606. To the names of Garnett and Oldcorne must be added that of the heroic lay-brother, Nicolas Owen, generally known as 'Little John,' another victim of the fatal plot. He was to Father Garnett what Ralph Emerson had been to Father Campion, and was moreover celebrated among Catholics for his skill in making hiding-places for priests. Father Gerard relates that Little John always went to Communion the day he was to commence a new hiding-place, and that he continually prayed during his work. The humble and holy lay-brother was cruelly tortured in the Tower to make him reveal the hiding-places he had made; but though day after day he en-

dured new torments, no amount of pain could make him speak. He died at length under torture, whereupon his enemies gave out that he had stabbed himself.

As fast as the sword of persecution thinned the ranks of the missionaries in England new recruits came to fill their place; and 'beyond the seas' young and generous spirits were fitting themselves for the apostle's labours and the martyr's death.

We have mentioned the foundation of the first seminary for English priests by Dr. Allen, at Douai, in 1568. Ten years later, owing to the disturbances in the Low Countries, it was transferred to Rheims, in France, and altogether it numbered among its students one hundred and fifty martyrs. Through the indefatigable exertions of Father Parsons colleges for the education of English youths were also founded at Rome, Valladolid, Seville, Eu, and St. Omer, and placed under the direction of the Jesuits. Besides these colleges the English Jesuits had two novitiates of their own: the first founded in 1591 at Watten, by Blase, Bishop of St. Omer, 'pour le bien de la très affligée Angleterre;' the second at Louvain, in 1606, by Father Parsons, with twelve thousand ducats given for the purpose by Doña Luisa de Carvajal. The history of this heroic woman, who, for the sake of the persecuted English Catholics, relinquished her country and her friends, a high position and a great fortune and all the religious comforts of a home in Catholic Spain, has, within the last few years, been made known to the land where she laboured and died.* As a spiritual daughter of the Society of Jesus, and its generous benefactress, Luisa de Carvajal naturally takes her place in the records of the martyred Jesuits, just as her portrait hangs side by side with theirs in the cloisters of the English College of Valladolid. The greater portion of her fortune was devoted to the foundation of the novitiate at Louvain, with the coöperation of Father Parsons, for whom she had the utmost confidence and veneration. While Father Campion and his companions were shedding their blood for the faith,

* *History of Doña Luisa Carvajal y Mendoza*, by Lady Georgiana Fullerton (Quarterly Series).

Parsons, of whom we seem to have lost sight since his first landing in the island, had by many hairbreadth escapes eluded the vigilance, of his foes and continued to devote all his zeal and activity to the English mission. His rare ability, unflagging spirit, and the consideration he enjoyed at the Courts of Rome and Spain rendered his influence abroad particularly useful. We hear of him, sometimes disguised and hunted down, pursuing his perilous mission far and wide through his native land; but still more often in France, Spain, Belgium, or Rome, fighting for Catholic interests, founding seminaries, training priests, giving to the English mission all the sympathy of his generous heart and the untiring zeal of his ardent character. The English novitiate at Louvain was opened by him in February 1607, with six priests, two scholastics, and five lay-brother novices. It stood on high ground, commanding a view of the city, and had a pleasant garden and vineyards on the slope of the hill.

We read in the life of Doña Luisa that the Jesuits of Louvain, hearing that she was living in great poverty in London, begged her to accept at least part of the income she had settled on their house; this she refused, adding: 'If your reverence does not wish exceedingly to displease me, do not offer me money which belongs to great servants of God far poorer than myself, for it is quite intolerable to me to be spoken to on that subject.'

In 1614, in consequence of the remonstrances of the English Government, the novitiate was transferred to Liége, and that same year its foundress died in London; the loss of Father Parsons four years before, in 1610, had been a heavy blow to her.

Only two years after its foundation the novitiate of Louvain gave its first martyr to heaven in the person of Father Thomas Garnett, nephew to the Provincial, who was executed at Tyburn in June 1608; on reaching the gallows he kissed them in a transport of joy, declaring that it was the happiest day of his life.

While the Jesuits in England were thus shedding their blood for Christ their sufferings found an echo in many hearts

abroad, and in the Society of Jesus especially they excited deep and heartfelt sympathy. Many years before, St. Ignatius had shown tender interest and pity for the ancient Isle of Saints; when, under Mary, Cardinal Pole went to reconcile England with the Holy See he had caused special prayers to be said in all the houses of the Society; and, later on, we find him urging St. Francis Borgia to send Jesuits to England with Philip II. The best beloved son of St. Ignatius, Padre Ribadeneira, inherited this feeling; he translated and continued Saunders's book on the English mission, and the eloquence with which he described the sufferings of the martyrs drew tears from Blessed Louis of Granada. Cardinal Bellarmine likewise placed his mighty intellect at the service of their cause, and when Father Garnett's enemies, after taking his life, strove to blacken his memory, the great Cardinal victoriously refuted their calumnies and avenged the fame of the blessed martyr.

CHAPTER XIV.

*Missions of the Society under Father Claudius Aquaviva,** 1581-1615.

UNDER the government of Father Everard Mercurian the Jesuits had continued, in spite of dangers and difficulties, to evangelize the empire of Japan, where, as has been seen, St. Francis Xavier first planted the Cross. This vast region, inhabited by a brave and intelligent people, is composed of five large and several small islands, and was divided, when the Jesuits first landed on its shores, into sixty-six principalities or kingdoms, each governed by an independent sovereign. By degrees, however, the monarchs, whose capital was Méaco, the largest town in Japan, acquired a certain power over the other princes; Nobuanga, one of them, conquered twenty-six of the neighbouring principalities; and Taicosama, his successor, assumed, in 1582, the title of Emperor of Japan. But before this revolution took place several of the minor sovereigns had embraced the Christian faith. Thus, in 1576, Father Cabral baptized the King of Arima, and, encouraged by the rapid progress of Christianity, resolved to erect a church at Méaco. Up to that time the Japanese Christians had met for prayer in miserable and obscure chapels, and the idea of a great church which should be a public homage to the true God was received by them with enthusiasm. The new edifice was happily completed, and consecrated under the invocation of our Lady of the Assumption, in memory of the day on which St. Francis landed in Japan.

A few days later, new Jesuits having joined their brother missionaries, a novitiate of the Society was opened at Vasuqui, a college and university at Funai, and a seminary for native

* *Histoire du Christianisme au Japon*, par Charlevaix, S.J.; id. par Léon Pagès. *Christian Missions*, by Marshall.

priests at Arima. About the same time, in 1578, Civandono, the King of Bungo, who had formerly received St. Francis Xavier at his court, was baptized by a Japanese Jesuit named John. By his alms the aged monarch had chiefly contributed to the foundation of the Jesuit college and novitiate; but though, on every occasion, he showed his affection for the Christians, he could not for many years summon courage to embrace the stricter law of the Gospel. Immediately after his conversion he resigned the reins of government to his son Joscimond. The wife of this prince desired to embrace Christianity, and the long delay imposed upon her by Father Froëz is an example of the caution observed by the Jesuits in their dealings with a people whose chief failing was inconstancy. They demanded not only faith, but a thorough change of life and steady habits of virtue from those who aspired to baptism, knowing well that the Sacrament must be waited for and ardently desired in order to be fully valued by the noble-hearted but volatile Japanese.

A new impulse was given to the missions in Asia by the arrival of Father Alexander Valignani, who in 1580 landed in Japan. He was a Neapolitan, and his noble birth, remarkable talents and virtue entitled him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; but he renounced the various benefices already bestowed upon him to enter the Society of Jesus, where he was one of the fellow-novices of St. Stanislaus Kostka. Father Mercurian appointed him General Visitor of the Jesuit Missions thoughout Asia; and Claudius Aquaviva, writing to confirm him in his charge, concludes his letter thus: 'When you are in India I feel as though I were there myself.'

Father Valignani's first act on landing in Japan was to assemble the Jesuits scattered in different parts of the empire, that they might deliberate on the means most conducive to the propagation of the faith. At this provincial council it was resolved that a second novitiate and several new colleges should be established; different minor points upon which the missionaries were divided were also discussed and decided. Some of the fathers, for instance, thought that, owing to the

intense contempt for poverty professed by the natives, it was advisable that the missionaries should wear silk garments and other ornaments if they wished to acquire any influence over the Japanese of high rank. Others, and amongst them Father Cabral and Father Organtini, two eminent missionaries, asserted that the Japanese made the distinction between pauperism and voluntary poverty, and that the latter was likely, on the contrary, to win their esteem and admiration. Father Valignani pronounced himself in favour of this view, and the use of silk garments was prohibited. He, however, differed from Father Cabral on the opinion professed by the latter that, on account of their natural tendency to pride and presumption, the Japanese students for the priesthood should be restricted to the theological studies which were absolutely indispensable for receiving Holy Orders. Judging that their quick intelligence rendered them peculiarly capable of mastering the more difficult branches of knowledge, Father Valignani thought that this advantage more than counterbalanced the apprehended evil, and he decided that the native youths should follow the same course of instruction as their European fellow-students.

After settling these and other matters concerning the organization of the missions, Father Valignani proceeded to visit the different Christian settlements. In the course of his journeys he baptized the young King of Arima, to whom he gave the name of Protasius; and in March 1581 he founded a college at Méaco, the chief city in Japan. He then turned his attention towards his favourite project of an embassy, to be sent by the sovereigns of Bungo, Arima, and Ormura to the Holy See. His object was a double one: he judged rightly that such a step would powerfully strengthen the ties that bound the Christian princes of Japan to the common father of the universal Church; also that, by giving some of their subjects an insight into the wonders of Catholic Europe, it might lessen the inordinate pride that made the Japanese consider themselves as the only civilized nation in the world. This project was successfully carried out; on the 22d of February 1582, Father Valignani set sail from Japan, accompanied by four ambassadors, two of whom

were of royal blood and the others of exalted rank. Civandono, the King of Bungo, who since his conversion led a life of sublime austerity and perfection, had commissioned them especially to obtain from the Pope the beatification of St. Francis Xavier; the venerable monarch, who loved to call himself the 'son of the Society of Jesus,' attributed his conversion to the merits and prayers of the great apostle, his guest of former years, and whose memory he cherished with extraordinary love and devotion.

The ambassadors were received with unusual marks of respect at the Court of Spain, where the ceremonious Philip II. rendered them the honours commonly paid to crowned heads alone. The Italian princes, through whose states they passed, followed his example, and their solemn entry into Rome presented a scene of wonderful interest and splendour. Pope Gregory XIII., whose life had been in great measure devoted to the assistance of foreign missions, testified his joy by festivities such as the Pontifical Court had seldom witnessed, and overwhelmed the travellers with marks of affection. It must indeed have been a glorious day for the Society of Jesus when a son of St. Ignatius led to the foot of the Papal throne these first-born children of the distant Church, where Francis Xavier had planted the Cross.

Shortly afterwards Gregory XIII. died, and we are told that almost the last words he uttered were to inquire after one of the ambassadors, whose health gave cause for anxiety. Sextus V., his successor, treated them with the same fatherly kindness; and after a stay of about three years in Europe they returned to their own land, where their account of the welcome they had met with greatly increased their countrymen's loyalty towards Rome. During the whole of their journey the gentleness, courtesy, and, above all, the extraordinary devotion of the Japanese envoys, produced a deep impression on all who saw them; and immediately on their return they petitioned to be received into the Society of Jesus, and were admitted by Father Valignani. One of the four, Julian Nacaura, was destined a few years later to gain the palm of martyrdom.

The brief period of prosperity that followed the departure of the ambassadors may be regarded as the golden age of the Japanese mission. Faxiba, one of the petty princes, who, after conquering twenty-six kingdoms, assumed the name of Taicosama, or emperor, in 1585, showed himself on all occasions the protector of the Christians. From policy, rather than from conviction, he wished to conciliate the missionaries, among whom were men of noble birth and great talents, on whose support he counted to maintain his newly-acquired dignity. Father Coëlho, the Provincial, obtained from him an authorization to preach the faith in the numerous states that owned him for their sovereign, and three years only after his accession there were 200,000 Christians in Japan.

The emperor himself, according to Father Froëz, one of the missionaries who knew him most intimately, was an atheist at heart, and professed supreme contempt for the Japanese idols. Being a man of singular intelligence and penetration, he admired the Christian religion as a philosophical system, but this theoretical admiration turned into hatred whenever Christianity interfered with his passions or appeared to oppose his despotic authority.

Thus his favourable dispositions changed when two Christian women from Arima refused to become his wives, on the ground that the Gospel forbids polygamy; and at the instigation of the bonzes, or native priests, he manifested his displeasure by exiling Justus Ucondono, one of his chief generals, and a fervent Christian. The Jesuits suffered next: they received an order to quit the country under pain of death, but firmly refused to abandon their flock; whereupon seventy out of the two hundred and forty Christian churches then existing in Japan were burnt to the ground. These severe measures, however, so far from checking the progress of Christianity, seemed but to increase the ardour with which multitudes came daily to solicit the grace of baptism.

At this juncture Father Valignani, hearing of the perils that threatened the missions, returned to Japan. In order to obtain an audience with the emperor he had caused himself to be

invested by the Viceroy of India with the dignity of his ambassador; and it was in this capacity that on the 3d of March 1591 he had an interview with Taicosama. The Japanese monarch, seated on a magnificent throne inlaid with precious gems, and surrounded by a brilliant court of princes, nobles, and bonzes, formed a striking contrast to the Jesuit envoy, who, wearing his plain black cassock, appeared in the midst of this display of Oriental splendour. The letters that Father Valignani presented on behalf of the viceroy contained such strong expressions of good feeling towards the Jesuits that the emperor was induced to allow the fathers to remain in Japan, provided they exercised their ministry as privately as possible. Father Valignani was obliged to rest satisfied with this concession, and, taking advantage of the liberty secured to him by his diplomatic appointment, he visited the different Christian colonies throughout the empire, and the following year, 1592, he left Japan.

In spite of the concessions just obtained, the position of the Christians was extremely precarious. Several of the petty princes who shared Taicosama's animosity towards the Christian faith, but who did not venture to set the example of open persecution, resorted to less public, but equally efficacious, means to rid themselves of the missionaries; thus in a short space of time five Jesuits perished by poison in the kingdom of Firendo. Yet the fathers felt that the present time was one of comparative peace, and they were eager to lose no opportunity of cultivating a soil where faith and virtue attained so rapid and marvellous a development. They accordingly wrote to Rome to request that religious of other orders might be sent to assist them in their labours. By many writers, among others by the Abbé Röhrbacker in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, the Jesuits have been accused of endeavouring to exclude from Japan all missionaries save members of their own Society; facts prove that they pursued an exactly opposite course. It was Father Valignani who first proposed to his brethren that other religious should be called to help on the Japanese mission; the idea was adopted and the matter referred to the

Father General, who left it to the decision of the Pope. However, partly through the influence of Philip II., partly in accordance with his own judgment, Gregory XIII. rejected the petition, and in January 1585 issued a Bull, by which Jesuit missionaries alone were authorized to labour in Japan. About the same time Father Peter Martinez, Provincial of the Society in India, was appointed Bishop of Japan, where he landed in 1586, accompanied by Father Cerqueyra as his coadjutor.

Subsequent events proved the wisdom of this measure, so unjustly attributed to members of the Society.* In 1593, some Franciscans from the Philippine Islands, deceived by the false accounts of a merchant, who from interested motives wished to take them to Japan, landed at Méaco. The Jesuits, by dint of extreme caution, had succeeded so far in escaping any further persecution; only two of them, Father Organtini and Father Rodriguez, wore their religious habits in public; the others exercised their ministry secretly, and their prudence was rewarded by the rapid increase of Christianity throughout the empire. The Franciscans arrived, animated indeed by the best intentions, but at the same time utterly ignorant of the real state of things in Japan; they could not realize on how frail a tenure hung the fate of the missions. Although the Jesuits warned them to observe more caution, they commenced celebrating Mass in public; and at the end of three years their imprudence, combined with the rash speech of a Spanish sailor, who represented the missionaries as political emissaries, thoroughly roused the despotic instincts of Taicosama. A fresh persecution broke out, and in January 1597 six Franciscans, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen laymen were condemned to die on the hill of Nagazaki.

The three martyrs whom the Society gave to heaven on this occasion were worthy to represent their Order. The first, Paul Miki, a scholastic of thirty-three years of age, was of an illustrious Japanese family. He had received baptism when a

* The Bull of Gregory XIII. excluding all religious, except the Jesuits, from Japan, was modified by Clement VIII. in 1600, and eight years later Paul V. threw open the empire to all missionaries.

mere child, and had been educated by the fathers, whose Institute he embraced at the age of twenty-two. He was remarkable no less for his modesty and sanctity than for his talent as a controversialist and a preacher; and, having made a special study of the errors most common among his countrymen, he had been the means of drawing many to the Church. Younger still was his companion, St. John of Goto, a novice of nineteen, recently admitted into the Society. James Kisai, the third martyr, was a lay-brother of lowly parentage and advanced years, distinguished for his deep and childlike humility.

The six Franciscans too were men of great holiness and courage; and among the Japanese condemned to die with the religious were several children, whose constancy and gladness struck their very guards with astonishment and admiration. On the evening of the 4th of February 1597, the band of martyrs arrived at Nagazaki, after having been ignominiously paraded through the chief cities of the empire.

Throughout this long *Via Dolorosa* Paul Miki continued to preach the faith with so much eloquence and earnestness that he converted many of those who came to see them as they passed. His one desire was to receive the Sacrament before dying, and the Franciscans only imperfectly understood the Japanese tongue. Great, therefore, was the joy of the three Jesuits when, on landing at Nagazaki, they perceived coming towards them two members of their own Society, Father Rodriguez and Father Pavio, who by dint of unwearied efforts had obtained permission to take leave of their brethren. Paul Miki hastened to renew his vows, and his companions, who were only novices, pronounced theirs; then, after making their confession, they rapidly ascended the hill, and each one joyfully took possession of a cross. In Japan the crosses were constructed with a piece of wood, on which the sufferer rested his feet; his hands, his feet, and his waist were bound with cords. After the cross was raised from the ground the executioner transfixed the victim with a lance, which, entering at his side, came out at the shoulder. When tied to his cross Father Peter Baptist, the Superior of the Franciscans, intoned the

Benedictus, which was joyfully taken up by his companions. One of the child-martyrs then begged the father to begin the *Laudate pueri*, and as the blessed confessor, who seemed rapt in ecstasy, did not reply, the boy began to sing the psalm himself, and continued till the death-stroke stilled his childish voice for ever. Paul Miki continued to preach from his cross, thanking God for the grace of martyrdom, and exhorting those present to embrace the true faith. At the foot of the cross of John of Goto stood his aged father. 'You see, father,' said the young martyr, 'that eternal salvation must be preferred to all else;' then unbinding the cloth he wore round his head, he sent it to his mother as a parting gift. The brave Christian replied by exhorting his son to die with joy and courage, adding that his parents were ready to lay down their lives for the same cause. At length the signal was given, the executioners seized their lances, and one by one the voices of the martyrs were hushed to silence. On receiving the death-stroke Paul Miki exclaimed: 'My God, into Thy hands I commend my spirit; saints of God, come to our help!' while James Kisai fervently murmured the names of Jesus and Mary. The father of John of Goto, worthy to the last of his martyred son, remained at the foot of the cross, fervently embracing the blood-stained wood. The twenty-six martyrs of Nagazaki were beatified by Urban VIII. in 1627; and on this occasion long accounts, confirmed by authentic and undisputable testimonies, were received of the miracles obtained through their intercession. They were canonized by Pius IX. in 1862.

Taicosama did not long survive his victims; he died in September 1598, leaving his infant son under the guardianship of Daifusama, one of the many tributary princes, and who before long usurped the imperial title.

The two following years, 1599 and 1600, mark an epoch of extraordinary success for the Catholic Church in Japan. The blood of martyrs proved a fruitful seed, and bore countless children to the Church; and it often happened that the exhausted missionaries' arms had to be supported while pouring the saving waters on these vast multitudes. There were

at this period in the empire about 120 fathers and lay-brothers of the Society; they had altogether thirty houses, two colleges, two novitiates, one seminary, and twenty-five residences. The Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians also possessed several establishments, and throughout the whole of Japan there were 750,000 Christians. In the year 1604 alone, 5500 natives received baptism; and in 1612, the year of the great persecution, 4500 adults were baptized, besides countless infants, who in Japan, as in China, were abandoned by their unnatural parents.

The Emperor Daifusama regarded the Christians with secret jealousy and suspicion, but outwardly he tolerated them, though it was felt that a trifling circumstance would be sufficient to excite his wrath. Father Valignani alone possessed an extraordinary influence over him; but the career of this great man was drawing to a close, and on the 20th of January 1606, he breathed his last at the age of sixty-nine.

It would be difficult to estimate as it deserves the immense work done by Father Valignani for the Eastern missions; under his direction thirty houses of the Society and three hundred churches had been built in Japan alone. Besides these he founded several hospitals for lepers, and for many years he supported nine hundred Christians, who had been reduced to beggary for the sake of religion. He also brought a printing-press to Japan, which served to print the religious works translated or composed by the missionaries. These immense undertakings were chiefly supported by the alms sent from Europe by the Catholic sovereigns, among whom Father Valignani was regarded with extraordinary veneration. But neither the reverence which surrounded him in Europe, nor the influence he exercised in the East, could impair his deep humility. A few hours before his death he wrote out a touching protest of his gratitude towards God, who had called him, in spite of his unworthiness, to live and to die in the Society of Jesus; and he concluded it by begging pardon of all for his 'immense' sins and negligences.

With Father Valignani, the mission of Japan lost its chief

support and defender; other missionaries remained, his equals in devotion and courage; but none possessed the influence that had more than once arrested the sword of persecution.

Six years later, in 1612, an English captain, named William Adams, moved by hatred towards Catholic priests, and by his national animosity against Spain, persuaded the emperor that, under colour of religious zeal, the Jesuits were in reality the emissaries of a hostile power, whose object was the conquest of Japan.

The long-threatening storm then burst forth. Fourteen families of noble blood were the first to suffer, and cheerfully set out on the road to banishment rather than deny their faith. Michel, King of Arima, an apostate and a tool of Daifusama, not only condemned his Christian subjects to exile or to death, but murdered his own father, the Christian Prince Protasius, together with his three infant brothers, the eldest of whom was only eight years old. With a wisdom beyond their years these children prepared themselves to receive the martyr's crown by forty days' prayer and fasting.

The scenes that Rome had witnessed in the heroic age of the early Church were now acted afresh in this distant land. The Japanese Christians met persecution and death, not merely with resignation, but with extraordinary enthusiasm and joy, and this was owing in a great measure to an association established by the Jesuits in the kingdom of Arima, whence it rapidly extended throughout the empire. It was called the Confraternity of Martyrs, and its object was to strengthen those who were hourly exposed to a cruel death, by teaching them to consider martyrdom as the highest earthly joy.

At Arima, where the persecution was fiercest, we are told of a little Christian child, named Thomas, only six years old, whose father had just been beheaded for the faith, and who was condemned to the same fate. He had shouted with delight on hearing the sentence, and on account of his tender years the executioner led him by the hand to the place of death. Here the child knelt down by his father's mutilated body, calmly bared his neck, and with clasped hands and cast-down

eyes waited for the fatal stroke. Three soldiers attempted one after the other to execute the sentence, but each one in turn burst into tears and cast away his sword. At length a slave was found, who literally hacked the child to pieces; but not even a sigh of pain escaped the lips of the youthful martyr. So great indeed was the heroic enthusiasm of the Christians that the missionaries had rather to restrain than to excite their fervour, which sometimes bordered on imprudence.

In 1615, Daifusama died, leaving his throne, together with his persecuting spirit, to his son Xogun, under whose reign—as we shall see in a succeeding chapter—the Church of Japan passed through its most severe and bloody ordeal. Hitherto, in spite of their hatred to Christianity, the persecuting spirit of the Japanese sovereigns had been somewhat restrained by interested motives.

The commerce between Portugal and Japan was a source of considerable wealth to the latter country, and it was feared that any excess of cruelty towards Christian priests, many of whom were Portuguese by birth, might excite the anger of their sovereign. But under the reign of Daifusama, the merchants of England and the Low Countries entered into commercial transactions with Japan; they were almost as hostile to the Jesuits as the pagans themselves, and their influence contributed largely to increase the violence of persecution. By rendering the Japanese monarchs independent of the Portuguese in affairs of commerce, they destroyed the selfish motives that had hitherto checked their natural cruelty.

While the Jesuits in Japan were thus extending the reign of Christ amidst innumerable perils and difficulties, other members of the Order continued the work of St. Francis Xavier in the peninsula of India.

Among these devoted missionaries was Father Alphonsus de Castro, who, after seeing the great apostle of the East at the Court of Lisbon, had resolved to walk in his footsteps. He was sent to India, where he evangelized the islands along the coast. At the end of nine years he was taken prisoner by the crew of a Mahometan ship, and subjected to fearful tortures;

for five days and nights he was tied to the masts of the vessel, loaded with chains, starved and beaten, and at length stabbed to death. A few years later, in 1583, Father Rodolph Aquaviva, nephew of the Father General, and Superior of the residence of Salsette, near Bombay, was mortally wounded by a hostile tribe, and with him perished four other Jesuits and twenty native Christians. The same year Father Peter Mascarenhas, an illustrious missionary, perished by poison in the island of Manade; and Father Balthasar Gago, called by his historians 'one of the giants of the holy mission of India,' died at Goa, after a life devoted to the salvation of the Indians. He was the first to conceive the idea of the Society of the Holy Childhood for the rescue of native infants, exposed to death by their unnatural parents. No less celebrated was Father Nuño Rodriguez, who for seventeen years was Rector or Provincial at Goa, where he died in 1604. He was of illustrious birth, and had filled a post of great importance at the Court of Don Sebastian of Portugal; he and his valet entered the novitiate together, and it was touching to see the eagerness with which Father Rodriguez rendered every humble office in his power to his former servant.

In 1580, Pope Gregory XIII. sent two members of the Society, Father John Baptist Elian and Father John Brunon, to the Maronites of the Lebanon, to confirm them in their allegiance to Rome; and some years later, Father Jerome Dandini, a Corsican by birth, and the first Jesuit who taught Aristotle's philosophy in Paris, was sent on a similar mission by Clement VIII., and invested with the title of Legate of the Holy See.

In all quarters of the globe we find traces of Jesuit influence, and often the bloody traces of Jesuit martyrs. In 1581, Father d'Amaral and Father Fernandez were massacred in the Moluccas; Father Abraham George, a Maronite by birth, was martyred in Ethiopia; in 1598, Father Francis Fernandez died a prisoner in Bengal; and in 1606, Brother Vincent Alvrès, a young Portuguese scholastic, was beheaded on board ship by Mahometan pirates.

It has been seen in a previous chapter what severe hardships were endured by the first Jesuit Patriarchs of Ethiopia; but these sufferings, so patiently borne for the love of Christ, had drawn down special blessings on the land that witnessed them. Father Oviedo and his fellow-prisoners were dead, but other Jesuits had penetrated into the country; instead of persecution they met with favour and protection, and in 1607 there were several flourishing houses of the Order in the chief towns in Ethiopia. A few years before, in 1604, Father Barreira planted the Cross on the coast of Western Africa, and baptized the King of Sierra Leone and many of his subjects.

The mission of the Jesuits in Tartary was established in a somewhat novel manner. In 1603, Father Francis Zgoda met, at Kamentz in Poland, an ambassador who was sent to the Polish monarch by the great Khan of Tartary. He inquired of him whether it would be possible to return with him to his own country, and was told in reply that he could only enter Tartary with a firman from the sultan or else as a prisoner. The former expedient was impracticable on account of the late war between the Turks and the Christians of Europe; so the Jesuit had recourse to the latter, and allowed himself to be taken prisoner and carried to Tartary. He was subsequently delivered by the ambassador whom he had met in Poland and allowed to preach the Christian faith, which was embraced by a large number of natives. Before long a new mission had been founded near Caffa, in Tartary, on the shores of the Black Sea.

In America, as in Asia and Africa, the sons of St. Ignatius performed prodigies of zeal and devotion. In Mexico they had established several residences, and, owing to their efforts, half of that vast country was now Christian. In Peru, Father Anthony Lopez was poisoned and Father Urrea massacred by the natives in 1590; but some years later fifty-six other Jesuits came to take their place. On entering the city of Cuzco they perceived an extraordinary number of persons afflicted with blindness, and, being then in want of catechists, the fathers assembled the blind youths and children and taught them the elements of the Christian faith. In their turn these neophytes

went about imparting the knowledge they had just gained to their countrymen, who, attracted by the novelty of the sight, came in crowds to listen, and begged for baptism.

In 1593 eight fathers, under the direction of Father Valdivia, were sent to Chili, where their efforts on behalf of the oppressed inhabitants aroused the anger of the Spanish conquerors, while they powerfully contributed to the popularity of Christianity among the native tribes, who found in the true faith a doctrine full of love and comfort, and in the Jesuits zealous advocates for the abolition of slavery. Not only did the fathers oppose this cruel practice by their words, but still more by their deeds—they set free all the slaves that had been given to their College of St. James; and as this measure excited the murmurs of the Spaniards, Father Valdivia performed a journey to Madrid for the purpose of laying before Philip II. the grievances of the unfortunate and oppressed natives of Chili.

In Brazil the Jesuits had to contend with the same difficulty; here also their worst trials came, not from the wild barbarity of the Indians, but from the insatiable greed and cold-blooded cruelty of the European conquerors. Foremost among the apostles of Brazil we find the Venerable Joseph Anchieta,* who for many long years wandered through the vast forests and wild mountainous tracts of this immense empire, seeking out the poor savages and winning them to the faith of Christ by his heroic charity. He came of a noble family of Guipuzcoa, and entered the Society in 1551, at the age of eighteen. Two years later he was sent to Brazil, where the Provincial, Father Emmanuel de Nobrega, welcomed him with extraordinary affection, a miraculous revelation having shown him that the young scholastic, whose delicate health and humble bearing rendered his appearance insignificant to ordinary observers, was destined to render glorious service to the cause of truth.

Anchieta was first sent as professor of classics to the college recently established in the Portuguese colony of Piratininga, and there he remained for seven years. While devoting

* *Vie du V. Joseph Anchieta*, par Ch. Ste. Foy.

himself to his pupils with the utmost care, he found time to learn the idiom of the country, and was soon able to compile a dictionary, a catechism, and various religious works in the Brazilian language. Besides this he wrote many pious hymns, which he distributed in the surrounding villages to be sung by the Indians. At the end of seven years Anchieta was chosen by Father de Nobrega to accompany him in some of his apostolic journeys; and in 1566, having been ordained priest, he was duly appointed to exercise the functions of a missionary.

The Jesuit missionaries in Brazil at this time may be divided into two classes: some were employed in visiting the Christian colonies established along the sea-coast, and which were composed of converted Indians and of European settlers; the others penetrated into the interior of the country, sometimes for hundreds of miles, to seek the savage tribes to whom they preached the faith. Though both these modes of life were full of fatigue and suffering, the second may be regarded as the most trying; it involved long journeys on foot, lasting sometimes for several months, and constant exposure to the inclemency of the weather, to the attacks of wild beasts, and the barbarity of the savages. During the forty-four years of his stay in Brazil Father Anchieta took part in both these kinds of apostleship. It was he who thoroughly organised the Christian reductions, or colonies, founded by Father de Nobrega, and in which he established the following mode of life: At break of day the *Angelus* was said by the whole population, who afterwards assembled to hear Mass; this was followed by an explanation of the catechism by two missionaries; and then all dispersed to their different occupations till five, when a short instruction was given at the church, followed by a procession of the children. In order to fix the attention of the impressionable and imaginative Indians, Father Anchieta devoted great attention to the ceremonies of the Church, and trained the younger members of the congregation to take part in the singing. His efforts were so successful that in a short time these colonies offered a bright picture of devotion, regularity, and peace.

Perhaps the ardent missionary's happiest days were those when, with no luggage save his Breviary and the necessary articles for saying Mass, no weapon save his crucifix, he set out in search of the yet unconverted and unconquered Indian tribes. He climbed the steep mountains and crossed the pathless forests, heedless of brambles, rocks, or wild beasts. When at length he reached those whom he longed to save he would approach them with his crucifix raised on high, and by gestures invite them to come near. By degrees, attracted by his gentle countenance and amazed at his courage, the Indians gathered round him to listen, and ere long the saving waters of baptism were poured on their brows, and they began a new life of purity and civilization.

But these results were not obtained without much suffering. Sometimes for months together the apostle would be the prisoner of some wild tribe, and subjected to every species of hardship. His most ardent desire was to gain the martyr's palm; but though often within his grasp it was not to be his portion, and God reserved him for a more lengthy course of suffering and toil.

In 1578, Father Anchieta was made Provincial of Brazil, an office he retained till 1585, when, at his own urgent request, he was again sent on the mission. Though broken by age and infirmities he continued his long and perilous journeys, till at length his strength gave way and he was obliged to retire to the village of Beritigba, where he remained till his death. When he could no longer travel in search of his beloved Indians, he devoted his time to the education and training of those whom the missionaries had converted, and whom they intrusted to his care.

The sanctity of Father Anchieta, manifested by extraordinary humility, charity, and austerity to himself, was rewarded by a series of supernatural graces. Every step of his long career seemed marked by miracles, that earned for him the name of the Thaumaturgus of Brazil; he cured the sick, raised the dead, read the most secret thoughts, announced future events, and, like St. Francis Xavier, he was ever ready to

assist those who were in sorrow. Among his most remarkable gifts was the influence he possessed over the animal creation, and charming incidents, to prove this fact, are related in his history. Swallows, doves, and other birds would fly in at his window when he called them, and remain with him until, having given them his blessing, he bade them go and continue to praise God.

In his long journeys the Indians observed with amazement that the birds would fearlessly perch on his Breviary or on his travelling-staff. Once, while walking under a burning sun, with several other persons, he perceived three large birds: 'Go,' he said, 'and bring back your companions to give us some shade.' The command was obeyed, and presently a large troop of birds came, and, extending their wings above the travellers, shaded them from the sun until the father bade them go. The very tigers and panthers obeyed his voice and came and went at his command, and it is to his intercession that the members of the Society attribute the fact that, during the many years they evangelized Brazil, not one amongst them was bitten by the venomous serpents, so plentiful in that country.

Father Anchieta died on the 9th of June 1597, and his loss was looked upon as a national calamity. Europeans, Indians, rich and poor, mourned him as their best friend; multitudes attended his funeral; and the miracles worked through his intercession were so numerous and striking, that soon after his death his beatification was asked for at Rome. However, it was not till 1736 that Clement XIII., by a solemn decree, recognised his heroic sanctity; the events that followed delayed the completion of the process of canonization, which has not since been resumed; but we may hope that some day, not far distant, the great apostle of Brazil may be raised on the altars of the Church.

It was also under the government of Father Claudius Aquaviva that the Society of Jesus began a work which was the most perfect and glorious of its missionary labours: the foundation of the far-famed reductions of Paraguay, the organ-

ization of which has excited the admiration of Catholic, Protestant, and infidel historians.

Paraguay was discovered in 1516 by Juan de Solis, a Spaniard, whose countrymen had ere long conquered the whole country, and in their thirst for gold treated the unhappy natives with the utmost barbarity. In 1586, Father Barsena and Father Angulo were first sent to Paraguay; other Jesuits soon followed, and by their charity and devotion strove to reconcile the natives to a faith which, in their untutored minds, was inseparably associated with the cruel rapacity of their detested conquerors. Neither the natural obstacles presented by the wild country, nor the still greater difficulties resulting from the ferocity of the wandering tribes, could arrest the steps of the missionaries. In 1603, Father Aquaviva sent Father Paëz as Visitor, with orders to organize the scattered missions, and to establish a common system of action. Two years later Father Torrez was named Provincial of Paraguay, and employed himself actively in carrying out the measures advised by the Father Visitor. The natives had at last been won by the charity of their apostles, and their fierceness had given place to unbounded love and confidence; but from the Spaniards, whose cruelties they boldly reproved, the Jesuits encountered persecution and calumny, and at length were completely deprived of the alms on which alone they subsisted. About this time Father Valdivia, the apostle of Chili, started for Spain, for the purpose of laying before Philip IV. the hardships under which the conquered tribes of South America were then suffering, and he so far succeeded in his mission that the king issued orders that the organization of the colonies in Paraguay should be intrusted to the Jesuits alone. Henceforth, armed with the formal command of the king, the fathers were able to pursue their mission with comparative freedom.

It is almost incredible how a few poor religious, with no weapon save a crucifix, succeeded in humanizing these barbarous people. By their teaching and example they persuaded the wandering tribes to settle down in colonies, or reductions,

and there to learn useful arts and employments, together with the practices of Christian piety and morality.

Philip IV. granted full liberty to the missionaries, and subsequently ratified his first decree in their favour by other laws, which confirmed the powers he had granted. In 1614 there were 119 Jesuits scattered through the country, and the two first reductions, placed respectively under the patronage of our Lady of Loretto and of St. Ignatius, had been founded among the tribe of the Guaranis. It was not without much patience and suffering that the missionaries succeeded in training to habits of industry and peace this wild and restless people. At first the Indians would listen attentively to the preacher, and then with characteristic inconstancy would return to their old wandering life and lawless habits. But the Jesuit missionary would not let the souls whom he had resolved to save thus escape his grasp; through rocky deserts and burning plains he pursued his wayward children; cold and heat, wild forests and mountain torrent, were cheerfully encountered by the brave soldier of Christ. At length he reached the objects of his search, fainting with fatigue, covered with wounds from the bite of insects, his feet torn and bleeding. But if his words once again were listened to, if he succeeded in bringing back to the fold his loved and erring sheep, sufferings were counted as gain by him, whose watchword in the wilds of America, as in the cities of Europe, was the magic phrase: 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam.'

In a subsequent chapter we shall see the development and perfection of the missions of Paraguay. The reign of Father Aquaviva only witnessed their foundation and beginning.

CHAPTER XV.

Missions of the Society under Father Claudius Aquaviva.

THE FIRST JESUITS IN CHINA.

WHILE the events just related were passing in Japan and America the true faith was making extraordinary progress in a country where its extension was attended by unusual perils and difficulties.

It was under the government of Father Aquaviva that the dying wish of St. Francis Xavier was at length realised, and the Jesuits penetrated into the jealously-guarded Chinese Empire. Strange to say, the first and most celebrated of these intrepid missionaries was born almost at the very time when St. Francis breathed his last on the rocky island of Sancian, with his yearning eyes fixed upon the shores of that vast region, still enveloped in the darkness of idolatry.

Nature and art had alike contributed to render China inaccessible to strangers; its coasts were defended against foreign invasion by a multitude of shoals and rocks that rendered navigation extremely perilous, while on the land side it was guarded by the famous wall, which is justly considered as one of the most stupendous works ever performed by man. Within this formidable barrier extended a fertile territory, watered by innumerable rivers and inhabited by an intelligent people, who even at an early period had attained a high degree of civilization. At the time of which we speak a superstitious attachment to their social and religious customs, united to a supreme contempt for everything outside their own country, were, together with remarkable quickness and much exterior dignity, the chief characteristics of the Chinese. They carried so far

the importance attached to ceremonial forms that the slightest infraction on these points was enough to discredit the culprit and deprive him of all consideration and influence.

In spite of the utter isolation in which the inhabitants of China remained till the Jesuit missionaries penetrated among them, they were proficients in painting and architecture, but they chiefly excelled in mathematics and astronomy. Although the perfection of some of their instruments astonished the first missionaries, they were on other points deplorably ignorant. Thus they imagined that eclipses of the moon were produced by the efforts of a dragon to devour this planet; and the services that the Jesuits were able to render them in their astronomical researches proved one of the most effectual means by which the Christian faith obtained a footing in the empire. Moral philosophy was likewise in great honour; and the doctrines of Confucius, born about 550 before Christ, were still, after the lapse of centuries, regarded with deepest veneration. They consisted chiefly in detached sentences, enforcing certain moral lessons, inspired by the dictates of common sense and reason. These formed the basis of the religion officially professed in the empire, but they were mixed with gross superstition and corruption. While some of the class designated as literates dispensed with all exterior forms of worship, and professed a religion which was simply a code of philosophy, the Buddhists had bonzes, idols, and temples, and indulged in every species of superstitious ceremony.

The principal charges and employments throughout the empire were held by the literates or mandarins, a body so numerous that in 1604 one of the Jesuits counted 9538 in the whole empire, and 2214 in the city of Pekin alone. They were divided into different categories, according to their degree of learning; their costume was remarkable for its richness and singularity, and slightly varied according to the grade occupied by the wearer.

The Chinese Government was a pure monarchy; the sovereign was surrounded with a mysterious prestige, and was rarely seen, save by his wives and immediate attendants, or by

the ministers, admitted into his presence to transact the affairs of government.

It may be seen that the mission of the Jesuits in China presented almost insuperable obstacles; besides the inveterate hatred for strangers entertained by the inhabitants, their vanity, philosophical pride, and deeply-rooted attachment to national customs, the language itself offered a serious difficulty. It is monosyllabic, and the same syllable often expresses four or five different meanings, according to the stress laid upon it by the speaker; when written the difference is marked by a quantity of signs, that render Chinese writing singularly complicated. In addition to these difficulties, it must be mentioned that there were, properly speaking, three languages in China—one used in familiar conversation, another employed for matters of business, and the third adopted only in literary composition.

There is reason to believe that the Christian faith was preached in China before the eighth century, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries missionaries were sent to the Tartar princes, who at that time governed the Chinese Empire; a Franciscan monk was even consecrated Archbishop of Pekin by Pope Clement V. at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Strangely enough, towards the end of the same century the Christian religion died out in the empire, and the cause of this rapid decay, ending in total extinction, remains to this day an unexplained fact. When, two hundred years later, the Jesuits landed in China they came to the conviction that there had once existed a numerous Christian community, and Father Ricci, in his Letters, relates that although the descendants of these ancient believers had become either Mahometans or Jews, they still retained the custom of making the sign of the cross over their food, without the slightest idea of its signification.

The first attempt to break through the stringent laws that interdicted the access of the Chinese Empire to strangers was made by the Portuguese merchants, in the interest of their

trade. After several disappointments they succeeded in obtaining permission to land on some of the rocky islands off the coast, and a little later they were able to build a fort and counting-houses on the rock of Macao, situated not far from Canton. Here they carried on an active exchange of goods with the natives, but the jealous vigilance of the authorities was ever on the alert to prevent any effort on their part to advance farther into the country.

We have seen how St. Francis Xavier's burning desire to penetrate into China had been crossed by the ill-will of the Governor of Malacca. Three years later, Father Melchior Nuñez Baretto, on his way to Japan, stopped at Sancian, and said Mass over the incorrupt body of the great Apostle of the East. He then sailed for China, and even reached Canton, where he endeavoured to preach the faith; but being ignorant of the language he was obliged to teach by means of an interpreter. His efforts were thus paralysed, and he left at the end of a few months to pursue his journey to Japan. The lay-brother who had accompanied him, Stephen Goës, remained behind to learn the language; soon, however, his health completely failed, and he was obliged to abandon the task.

In 1562, John III., King of Portugal, in compliance with the earnest petition addressed to him by Xavier shortly before his death, sent Diego Pereira as his ambassador to China, with orders to use his influence in favour of the missionaries' entrance into the empire. Three Jesuits accompanied the expedition; but again, through circumstances which it would be too long to relate, the enterprise failed. The three fathers succeeded, however, in establishing a fervent Christian colony among the Chinese who had settled at Macao, on Portuguese territory, and they also built a residence, which acquired great importance as the resting-place of the missionaries on the road to Japan, and later, as the starting-point of those who were bound for China or Thibet.

On one occasion Father Valignani spent ten months at the College of Macao, during which time he applied himself to an attentive study of the state of things in China. He came to

the conclusion that a special course of training was necessary for the missionaries destined to argue with the fastidious and philosophical literates: they must be men of learning and education, proficients in the exact sciences, and acquainted with the idioms used by the different classes. Father Michael Ruggieri, who was then engaged in preaching among the pearl-fishers of India, appeared to him well suited to this arduous task; he was therefore summoned to Macao, where he landed in July 1579, and immediately began to learn the language. For many months his endeavours seemed well-nigh useless. The only teacher he could find was a Chinese painter, whose knowledge of Portuguese was so limited that the greater part of the time when he wished to convey to his pupil the meaning of a word he was obliged to paint the object itself underneath the Chinese word used to indicate it. It may be imagined that, with such a system, Father Ruggieri's progress was slow; indeed, he had to endure the raillery of his countrymen and the gloomy predictions of his brethren, who all assured him that his enterprise was mere loss of time. His only encouragement came from Father Valignani, who frequently wrote from Japan, where he was then staying, to urge Ruggieri's Superiors to give him every facility for pursuing his studies. At length, after two years' patient labour, the Jesuit was able to write in Chinese an abridgment of the Christian doctrine; and this little work, which he distributed among the literates, met with great favour. Once or twice a year the Portuguese merchants were allowed to go to Canton for commercial purposes, and their stay generally extended over two or three months. Ruggieri obtained leave to accompany them, and ere long his presence on these occasions was not only tolerated, but eagerly requested, by the mandarins, who observed that when he was there the Portuguese were more orderly in their conduct and honest in their dealings. At length he became so popular by his gentleness, courtesy, and bearing, that at Canton he was allowed to lodge in the palace generally allotted to foreign ambassadors, and here he was visited by the chief magistrates, to whom he began to speak of the truths of Christianity. It was about this

time that Father Valignani sent him a coadjutor, destined to carry on with extraordinary and rapid success the work so laboriously commenced.

Father Matthew Ricci, the chief apostle of China, was born at Macerata, near Ancona, in 1552, and at the age of nineteen entered the Society of Jesus, where his novice-master was Father Valignani himself, and his professor of mathematics the famous Father Clavius, the 'Christian Euclid,' under whose teaching Ricci acquired the vast scientific knowledge that afterwards contributed so powerfully to his success among the Chinese. In 1578 he was sent to India, and two years later he was summoned to Macao to assist Father Ruggieri. Valignani had judged aright when he fixed upon the young religious, whose first steps in the Society he had guided, as the instrument chosen by Providence for a work of singular difficulty and peril. 'No gift which might qualify him for his great career seems to have been denied to this eminent man. In him were united prudence, constancy, and magnanimity of soul; profound genius, cultivated by the most famous master of the age; delicacy and refinement of taste, unwearied industry and habitual mortification.'*

Shortly after the arrival of Ricci, Father Ruggieri, undaunted by several failures, at last obtained from the Governor of Tchao-Khing permission to establish himself permanently in that city, one of the most important in the province of Canton. By the advice of the principal mandarins both he and Father Ricci adopted the costume of the literates, which was ever afterwards retained by members of the Society in China. Their first care, on reaching their new abode, was to erect a small house and to fit up a chapel; and ere long the courtesy and learning of the two strangers, the perfection with which they had acquired the Chinese language, the interest excited by their chapel and library, attracted a multitude of visitors, to whom the two fathers explained the truths of Christianity. Their explanation of the Ten Commandments created special admiration, and the literates begged them to write down a full

* Marshall, *Christian Missions. Vie du P. Ricci*, par Ste. Foy.

exposition of the religion they professed. In compliance with this request the Jesuits compiled, with infinite care and patience, an abridgment of the Catholic doctrines; and in order that the true meaning of each word should not be altered by passing through the subtleties of the Chinese language, they adopted the form of a dialogue, which was supposed to take place between a European and a native of the country. The book obtained wonderful success; and to express his admiration the governor sent the fathers two pictures, as a gift to 'the men from the holy land of the West.' But the pecuniary resources of the mission were beginning to fail, and, unwilling to ask for alms at Tchao-Khing, lest by so doing he should place himself under obligations to the mandarins, Father Ruggieri returned to Macao to ask the assistance of the Portuguese merchants, leaving Father Ricci in charge of the house and chapel. His absence lasted about a year, during which time Father Ricci had to endure the calumnies of some of the inhabitants, who saw with jealousy that these strangers had been allowed to settle in the city, against the recognised laws of the empire. By them the Jesuits were accused, among other crimes, of entrapping Chinese children, in order to sell them as slaves at Macao. But the general opinion was in favour of the fathers; their case was tried before the governor, the untruth of the charge satisfactorily proved, and the false witnesses severely punished. Indeed, the governor's previous esteem for Ricci appeared to increase after this affair. He frequently visited him, accompanied by a number of mandarins, whose curiosity was greatly excited by the father's mathematical and geographical instruments. They had always imagined that China occupied almost the whole of the globe, and were amazed to discover that it only filled up a very small portion of it. Soon after Father Ruggieri's return the mission was visited by Father Francis Cabral, Superior of the residence of Macao, during whose stay the two first neophytes were baptized. Forty other conversions speedily followed. Father Ricci's knowledge of Chinese enabled him to preach every day in the little chapel, and his sermons were attended by crowds

of natives, numbers of whom came afterwards to solicit the grace of baptism; but remembering the fate of the ancient missions in China, the fathers only admitted those on whose firmness they could rely in case of persecution.

In 1585 they were joined by Father Edward Sande, a man of rare prudence and virtue; and the same year the Governor of Tchao-Khing, being obliged to undertake a jouney into the interior of the empire, offered to give Father Ruggieri a place in his suite. The proposal was gladly accepted, and Ruggieri even obtained that Father Antonio Almeida, who had lately arrived at Canton, should also form one of the party. Although they were more than once exposed to great peril, owing to the jealous suspicion with which strangers were regarded, the two Jesuits were much pleased with their journey. They met with a cordial welcome from the mandarins, among whom the catechism published by Ruggieri and Ricci was generally known, and who came eagerly to demand further explanations. During their absence Father Ricci was making steady progress at Tchao-Khing. A multitude of dying children had been baptized, and whole families came together to solicit the grace of baptism. The courage and devotion shown by the fathers when, on one occasion, the river overflowed its banks, greatly contributed to their popularity. Although their own house had been inundated like the rest, they forgot themselves in their care for others, and spent their time in seeking out the unhappy sufferers, whom they conveyed to a place of safety.

About this time, Father Valignani, informed of the numerous conversions made by the fathers, conceived a project on which he built great hopes. The mission of Tchao-Khing, in spite of its apparent prosperity, was in a most precarious condition, as it depended solely on the good pleasure of the viceroy or governor of the province, and Valignani saw clearly that, as long as the continuance of the missionaries in the empire was subject to the caprice of the mandarins and public functionaries, the progress of Christianity must inevitably be uncertain, and that a formal authorization from the emperor himself was essential to the permanent establishment of the missions. This, he

thought, could be obtained by a direct embassy from the Pope to the sovereign ruler of the Chinese Empire, and for this purpose he resolved to send to Rome a man who should lay the design before the Pope and solicit his coöperation. Father Ruggieri, whose stay in China had been longest, and whose experience was therefore greater, was selected for the mission, and in November 1588 he set sail for Europe. According to the custom of the times, the ship stopped a few days at St. Helena to take in supplies of fresh water. At this period the only inhabitant of the island was a solitary hermit, who spent his time in constant prayer; but it was the custom of the sailors who landed for water to sow seeds on the island, and to leave behind a few pairs of useful animals for the possible benefit of any shipwrecked travellers. After incurring many perils, the vessel landed at Lisbon in September 1589, and shortly afterwards the missionary arrived in Rome, just about the time of the death of Pope Sextus V. This Pontiff's three immediate successors reigned too short a time for Father Ruggieri to engage their attention on the subject of his journey, and in the midst of the important European interests that absorbed the next Pope, Clement VIII., Father Valignani's plan of an embassy to China was forgotten. By this time, however, Providence had provided other means for the welfare of the distant missions, and Father Ricci, by his patience and courage, had obtained an audience with the emperor, and three hundred Christian churches were being erected in China.

However, this magnificent result was not obtained without much suffering, and during the first year that followed Ruggieri's departure Father Ricci had to grapple with difficulties that would have daunted a less intrepid spirit. As long as the Viceroy of Tchao-Khing was his friend his position was comparatively secure; but when, a few months later, that functionary was replaced by another, openly hostile to the missionaries, their enemies speedily obtained a decree of banishment against them. On the feast of the Assumption 1589, the residence of Tchao-Khing had to be abandoned, in spite of the tears of the Christians, and of the indignation of many of the heathen

mandarins, who regarded as grossly unjust the sentence of exile issued against men so learned and virtuous. However, by dint of efforts, Father Ricci obtained for himself and Father Almeida permission to settle at Tchao-tcheou, a city situated some distance off. It was built at the meeting of two rivers, and its climate was so unhealthy that during part of the year a third of the inhabitants suffered from continual fever, and nearly all the strangers who visited the town died at the end of a short stay. However, so earnest was the Jesuits' desire to evangelize the empire, where at last they had obtained a footing, that they gladly accepted at any price leave to remain on Chinese soil. Here, as in his first residence, Ricci speedily won the admiration of the literates, who came to visit him in large numbers; the first person whom he converted was an old man of sixty, whose natural honesty and uprightness had unconsciously prepared him for the grace of baptism. He took, upon his conversion, the name of Joseph, and at his request Father Ricci consented to visit the neighbouring city of Nan-nioung, which was his usual place of residence, and where the father's discourses, supported by the example and influence of his ardent neophyte, brought many converts into the Church.

Ricci was seconded in his labours by two young religious, sent to him by Father Valignani; they were both of Chinese origin, but had been educated at the College of Macao, where they had taken the Portuguese names of Bastien Fernandez and Francis Martinez. Their assistance somewhat consoled him for the loss of Father Almeida, whose health had rapidly declined since his arrival at Tchao-tcheou. In the midst of intense suffering the dying missionary never breathed a word of complaint, but kept his eyes fixed on an image of our Lady that hung near his bed. Out of humility he desired to die on the bare ground; and in this position, with Father Ricci praying by his side, he calmly expired at the age of thirty-six. On hearing of his death, Father Valignani sent Father Francis de Petris, an Italian, to take his place, and for two years Father Ricci carefully guided the new-comer through the difficult task of learning Chinese; but just at the moment he

was competent to take an important part in the work of the mission he too sickened with fever. Ricci's grief was intense; for the second time he was about to lose his companion at the very moment when he was expecting to reap the fruits of a long and patient course of instruction. At first he tried to hope that Petris' youth and naturally robust constitution would conquer the disease; but his hopes were dispelled by the dying religious himself, to whom his approaching end had been miraculously revealed. He died in October 1593: his last words were to console his Superior, who was weeping bitterly by his side. In the month of May of the following year, Father Lorenzo Cattanei, who was already acquainted with the rudiments of the language, was sent to replace the two who had fallen martyrs of charity; and a few months later, in 1595, Father Ricci had at length an opportunity of carrying out his long-cherished desire of reaching Pekin, the residence of the emperor.

One of the chief mandarins of Tchao-tcheou, who was called to Pekin on important business, proposed to the father that he should accompany him as tutor to his son, whose education he had already commenced. The proposal was gladly accepted, and, leaving Father Cattanei in charge of the mission, Ricci set forth. He was amazed at the excellence of the roads by which they travelled, at the life and animation that reigned everywhere, the multitude of litters and chariots going to and fro in all directions, and the broad rivers covered with barges and canoes. However, before they had proceeded very far, the mandarin suddenly grew alarmed at the risk he incurred by introducing a stranger into the very heart of the empire; he declared to Ricci that he could take him no further, and abandoned him at Nankin, the second great city in China. Here the father met with so hostile a reception that he was forced to leave; and, sad at heart, he bent his steps towards the neighbouring town of Nan-tchang, which several literates had recommended to him as a residence. It was during this journey that he had a dream or vision, in which Almighty God promised to assist him, and showed him an imperial city, which he appeared to enter without difficulty. It was in June 1595 that Ricci

arrived at Nan-tchang, where the inhabitants were entirely devoted to study and science, but where for a whole month he remained utterly isolated and friendless, spending all his days in prayer, that God might direct him to act for the greater advantage of religion. At last he contrived to make the acquaintance of a celebrated doctor, and through him was introduced to the other literates, who were filled with admiration on discovering the stranger's learning and talents. His reputation reached the viceroy of the province, who requested him to establish his permanent residence at Nan-tchang; and a prince of the neighbouring province of Tchié-gan, who also made his acquaintance, gloried in being his disciple.

As may be imagined, Father Ricci never for a moment lost sight of the object nearest his heart—the propagation of the faith. In the philosophical and scientific discussions, which were the favourite occupation of the literates of Nan-tchang, he used to explain the principal truths of Christianity, the existence of one God, the immortality of the soul, &c.; and he presented the prince of Tchié-gan with a book that he had himself compiled, containing extracts from the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, arranged in detached sentences, according to Chinese custom.

So popular did Ricci become at Nan-tchang that he was able to buy a house and to build a chapel, and ere long he was joined by a father and lay-brother of the Society. A curious circumstance contributed to increase the admiration excited by his learning. An eclipse took place in 1596, but at a different time of year from that predicted by the astronomers of Pekin, against whom there arose a general murmur of discontent. The literates of Nan-tchang were especially troubled by the error of their learned brethren, and went to Ricci to learn its cause. He explained to them with great modesty that the fault lay in the Chinese calendar, which needed a thorough reform, or similar mistakes would constantly take place; he supported his theory by such strong and clear proofs that the literates unanimously exclaimed that he ought to be sent to Pekin to reform the calendar. This, as we know, was Ricci's most

ardent desire, and about this time he received a letter from Father Valignani, who likewise urged him to spare no efforts to obtain an interview with the emperor; and in the event of his succeeding, he sent him a number of clocks, pictures, and other European articles which had been forwarded by Father Claudius Aquaviva to be presented to the sovereign of China.

The father's chief difficulty was to find a mandarin courageous enough to introduce him into the capital, where it was impossible for a stranger to penetrate, except under the protection of an official of high rank. The literates were ready enough to recognise his superiority, and to render him services that did not compromise themselves, but when he begged them for an introduction to Pekin, all shrank from the responsibility. At length a mandarin named Kouan, who held one of the chief dignities in the empire, yielded to the father's earnest wish; he promised to take him to Pekin, and even allowed Father Cattanei, who had lately arrived from Tchao-tcheou, and two lay-brothers, to form part of the expedition. During the journey the great heat severely tried the strength of all the travellers, except Ricci, whose iron constitution seemed impervious to heat and fatigue, and whose heart was filled with joy when, on the eve of our Lady's Nativity, he reached the city towards which he had yearned since his arrival in China.

But here fresh disappointments awaited him. The mandarin Kouan, with whom he had travelled, was willing to help him, but the persons on whose assistance he himself had counted failed him, and he was told on every side that the moment was ill-chosen for introducing a stranger at court, and that Ricci's only safe course was to leave Pekin as soon as possible.

We may imagine what a severe trial it must have been to the latter when his long-cherished project failed at the very moment of its apparent fulfilment. He remained at Pekin a short time longer, endeavouring in vain to find some powerful courtier willing to use his influence in his favour; but at last he became convinced that for the present his efforts would be useless, and decided to return to Nankin.

During his voyage back the indefatigable missionary occupied himself, with the assistance of Father Cattanei, in composing a Chinese and Latin dictionary, for the use of future missionaries. He reached his journey's end in February 1596, and was somewhat consoled for his disappointment by the favour with which he was greeted by the inhabitants of Nankin, whose former reception of him had been marked by special hostility. At the request of the literates he opened an academy, where he at first only taught mathematics and the physical sciences. His lessons were taken down in writing, printed, and propagated throughout the empire. By degrees, having secured the attention of his audience, he began openly to preach the Christian religion. Soon whole families came together to ask for baptism; and when, in 1600, he resolved to make another attempt to reach the emperor, Nankin possessed a fervent and flourishing Christian colony.

On the 18th of May 1600, Ricci set forth once more for Pekin, accompanied by two fathers, who had lately joined him from Macao, and a Chinese lay-brother. He was provided with letters of recommendation from his friends at Nankin, where Father Cattanei remained in charge of the mission. This second attempt was fraught with difficulties that would have daunted the courage of any one less determined than Father Ricci. When at a short distance from Pekin he was arrested by a powerful mandarin named Matan, who, besides his national hatred of foreigners, had a mind to appropriate the presents which the Jesuits were taking to the emperor. For six months Ricci and his companions were detained in close imprisonment by this powerful and wicked man, who subjected them to every kind of annoyance and suffering; while at the same time, in order to justify his proceeding, he wrote to Pekin, and accused them of having designs against the life of the emperor.

All human help had now completely failed. Matan's authority was unlimited; his hatred deep and relentless. The captives were cut off from all communication with the outer world: a violent death, or at best a lifelong imprisonment,

seemed the only fate in store for them. Ricci spent his days and nights in prayer, begging God with undaunted confidence to have pity on the vast empire, where he so ardently desired to spread the true faith.

At length help came, from the quarter where it was least expected. The Emperor Van-Lie had been at different times informed of Ricci's intention to visit the capital, and the account of the presents he was bringing, of the clocks especially, greatly excited his curiosity. One day he inquired when 'the bell that could ring by itself' was to arrive, and why the stranger, so long announced, had not yet made his appearance. On being told that Ricci could not obtain the necessary authorization for presenting himself at court he ordered that he should be sent for immediately; and, in spite of Matan's rage and disappointment, the little band of travellers entered Pekin on the 20th of January 1601. They were lodged in a palace on the outskirts of this city, the largest in the world; and their presents were carried to the emperor, who was especially delighted with the pictures of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, and with the numerous clocks sent by the Father General. Four of the chief mathematicians in the empire were sent to learn the art of winding up these clocks, while other officers had orders to gather from the strangers all details respecting the manners, customs, institutions, costumes, &c., of Europe. Father Pantoja, one of the missionaries, was asked to give lessons to the emperor's private musicians, for whom Father Ricci composed different songs in Chinese: they consisted of detached sentences, enforcing some moral lesson, and were soon well known throughout the empire.

It was the custom in China that any person who made a present to the emperor should in return receive a gift of much greater value. Accordingly Van-Lie sent one of his courtiers to ask the fathers what honours, riches, or profitable employment they desired in return for their splendid presents. Great was the sovereign's surprise when he was told that the strangers had renounced all the goods of this world in order to devote themselves to the service of God, and that they asked for

nothing save permission to establish themselves at Pekin. This disinterestedness appeared so incredible that several messengers were sent one after the other to Father Ricci; but all returned with the same reply.

However, the desired permission was not obtained without further difficulties, which were chiefly caused by the fathers' former enemy Matan, who spared no efforts to obtain their expulsion. Through his manœuvres they were transferred from the palace where they had at first been lodged to a fortress, where they were detained in a kind of honourable captivity; while the bonzes, or native priests, united with the hostile mandarins to intrigue against them. But Father Ricci knew that the emperor's personal feelings were all in their favour; and accordingly he wrote direct to him to solicit permission to remain in Pekin. This bold measure was successful beyond all expectation. Not only did Van-Lie give the desired authorization, but he volunteered to provide for the fathers' maintenance, and gave Father Ricci full liberty to come to the imperial palace as often as he wished. On account of the mystery with which the Chinese sovereigns were accustomed to surround themselves, this permission caused a deep sensation. The report spread that Ricci conversed with the emperor; and thereby the respect with which the strangers were regarded was greatly increased.

Being at last fairly established at Pekin, the Jesuits set themselves about the work which had been the real motive of their long and patient efforts. They established themselves in the centre of the city, and opened a chapel, which was crowded whenever Father Ricci preached. Their first convert was a celebrated literate, who from his earliest years had, by the simple exercise of his reason, believed in the existence of one God, and observed the precepts of the natural law. His example was speedily followed by other mandarins, who generously overcame the obstacles that kept them from embracing the truth. The chief of these obstacles was the practice of polygamy, which was usual in China.

The numerous examples of courage and self-sacrifice given

by his fervent neophytes must have amply repaid Father Ricci for long years of patient endurance. We are told, among others, of a mandarin of high standing, named Li, who had devoted his life to the study and practice of astrology. He became convinced at length of the truth of Christianity, and begged to be admitted to baptism. Father Ricci pointed out to him the sinfulness of the occult practices in which he had indulged; and immediately Li publicly burnt the books of astrology and magic, which he had collected for many years with infinite trouble and expense; and, by the fervour of his exhortations, he converted to the true faith his mother, his wife, his two sons, all his servants, and slaves. He himself took the name of Paul in baptism, and erected a chapel in his own house, where the faithful used to assemble to listen to the instructions of the fathers.

Father Valignani had learnt with deep joy of Father Ricci's success; and he now wrote to beg of him to come to Macao, as he wished to hear from his own lips an account of his labours; but finding that Ricci could not leave Pekin without special permission from the emperor, he resolved, in spite of his age, to join him there. He was about to start, when God called him to receive the reward of his long and faithful services. Before dying he had time to provide for the welfare of the Chinese mission. Father Ricci was named Superior-General, and made independent of the Rector of Macao. He was likewise empowered by the Father General to receive into the Society any Chinese who had been brought up in the true faith, and who showed a decided vocation.

The new missionaries who were sent to the different residences now established by the fathers found that, instead of the vexations and perils that their predecessors had encountered, they were everywhere treated with the greatest respect on account of the favour enjoyed at court by Father Ricci. At Pekin itself their house was always filled with visitors, who were attracted by the solemnity with which the fathers celebrated the principal feasts of the Church. But notwithstanding this increasing popularity, and the numerous conversions to

which it gave occasion, Father Ricci wisely continued to exercise great strictness about admitting neophytes to baptism, and would only consent when they had given clear proofs of earnestness and fervour. Besides a verbal renunciation of their past errors he required from them a written protestation of faith, which could afterwards be produced against them if they failed in their promises. Owing to this prudent strictness the Christians were remarkable for their eminent virtue and piety. One of their most famous converts was a man who in baptism took the name of Luke. Before his conversion he was notorious for his cruelty, violence, and many vices, and was regarded even by the pagans with horror. It was not without a hard struggle that he submitted to the voice of grace; but when once he had received baptism his humility and piety could not be surpassed, and the remembrance of his crimes only increased the fervour of his penitence. It was he who founded at Pekin a confraternity in honour of our Lady; its members bound themselves to frequent the Sacraments at stated times, to visit the poor, bury the dead, and perform other works of mercy. Another Christian, named Ignatius, kept a school at Pekin, and had a crucifix hung up in his schoolroom, in order that his pupils, having this sacred symbol always before their eyes, might be drawn to the faith; and, in fact, many of them were converted under circumstances of peculiar and miraculous interest.

Besides the apostolate they carried on in Pekin itself, the fathers frequently preached missions in the neighbouring towns and villages, and established new and flourishing Christian colonies. Meantime Father Ferreira, a man of rare prudence and sanctity, was intrusted with the spiritual training of the little band of novices, on whom rested the hopes of the mission; and Father Ricci, besides his labours among his converts, found time to devote to scientific and theological works. Under his direction a converted literate named Paul Tsin translated the six first books of Euclid into Chinese. By his extraordinary intelligence, his firmness, and piety, Paul was one of the most glorious conquests made by the Jesuits in

Pekin, and his example had a great and beneficial effect upon his countrymen.

While around him Christianity was making rapid progress and producing admirable results, the man who had been God's instrument to bring about this wonderful and blessed change was approaching the close of his laborious career. To the end of his life Father Ricci continued to work with untiring energy; he every day gave the fathers and lay-brothers lessons in the Chinese language, writing, and philosophy; besides this he had a class of mathematics, which was attended by several mandarins; he was writing a detailed account of the foundation of the Chinese mission to send to Rome; he had to reply to multitudes of letters that reached him from all parts of the empire, and as these letters were generally connected with religious subjects the replies were so many treatises on Christian doctrine, and demanded time and care. Moreover, he had to watch over the welfare of the other Jesuit missions in China, to solve the doubts and difficulties which the fathers never failed to bring him, and to direct the construction of the church he had begun to build at Pekin. The last year of his life, in addition to all these occupations, he devoted himself to a mandarin who had been his special friend, and who, having fallen dangerously ill, wished to have Father Ricci constantly at his side. The father had the joy to receive him into the Church, but this was his last conquest; soon afterwards, as though he felt that his own death was drawing near, he began to make his preparations for the last solemn passage. Two months before the end he went through the Spiritual Exercises with extraordinary fervour; then, having appointed Father Longobardi for his successor as Superior-General, and taken other measures regarding the temporal welfare of the mission, he devoted the rest of his time to prayer and meditation. The 2d of May 1610, Father Ricci took to his bed, and for ten days lay between life and death, while the Christians filled the little chapel, praying night and day that God would spare them their beloved father. He himself lay perfectly calm and happy. The last day of his life he consented to give the fathers who

surrounded his bed a final blessing; then turning to Father Ferreira, who was weeping bitterly, he promised him that when he reached heaven he would ask for him the grace to die in the Society, 'where,' he added, 'death is so sweet.' He continued to talk over the interests of the mission with perfect clearness; but towards evening, raising himself on his bed, he took up a crucifix and a picture of St. Ignatius, and a few minutes before sunset calmly expired, his eyes still fixed on the holy images; it was the 11th of May 1610. Father Ricci was fifty-eight years of age; of these he had spent thirty-nine years in the Society and twenty-seven in China.

The death of this great man excited deep sorrow, not only among his own children, but in all ranks and classes, and at the imperial court itself. He was the first stranger who obtained in China the honours of a public funeral, and perhaps the strongest proof of the extraordinary esteem in which he was held lies in the fact that the emperor gave the fathers a palace, and grounds in the neighbourhood of Pekin to serve as his burial-place. Votive tablets, adorned with gold, were sent as offerings to the tomb from the different cities, where his holiness and learning had left a lasting remembrance.

A well-known Protestant missionary, Gutzlaff,* says of Father Ricci that 'few men ever lived who did so much within a short time as this Jesuit;' and Chateaubriand† thus confirms the statement: 'Ricci found time for everything: at the same time he replied to the accusations of his enemies in Europe, and watched over the infant Churches in China; he gave lessons in mathematics, and composed Chinese controversial works against the literates who attacked him; he cultivated the friendship of the emperor, and retained his place at court, where his courtesy made him beloved.'

Father Ricci's influence survived him in China, and the letters of the missionaries, who continued his work, bear frequent testimony to the good obtained by his treatise on the Christian religion. 'This book,' writes Father Fouquet, a

* Marshall, *Christian Missions*.

† *Génie du Christianisme*, vol. ii. p. 158 (édit. 1854).

Jesuit, in 1702, 'produces a marvellous effect on the minds of the intelligent Chinese. There are few amongst them who are not moved when they have read it attentively.'*

Before closing this account of the first Jesuit missionaries in China, it is necessary to mention one who, although comparatively obscure and unknown, gave singular proofs of perseverance and courage: this is the holy and heroic lay-brother, Benedict Goës. He first spent several years with Father Jerome Xavier at the court of the Great Mogul, who, before his departure, made him a present of all the little Portuguese children whom he had taken prisoners during the wars of the previous years. The Jesuits had long wished to preach the faith in the kingdom of Catai, so celebrated during the Middle Ages, but where no missionaries had as yet penetrated. The task of exploring this unknown land, for the guidance of future apostles, was intrusted to Brother Goës by Father Pimenta, the Visitor for India. It was a perilous and difficult mission; disguised as an Armenian, he had to find his way through Mahometan and pagan tribes, to cross unknown regions, where perils of every kind attended his steps. However, after a journey that lasted for five years, and during which he discovered the route from India to China through Tartary, he was approaching the end of his wanderings when he fell dangerously ill. He was quite alone; but our Lord revealed to him that before dying he should have the consolation of embracing one of his brethren, and the next day arrived Brother Fernandez, a Chinese, whom Father Ricci had sent to meet him as soon as he heard of his arrival in China. It was impossible to think of pursuing the journey, and, in spite of his ardent desire to receive the Sacraments, the sick man fully submitted to God's holy will. A few moments before the end he said to his companion, 'My dear brother, it is now five years since I have been to confession, and I am now deprived of that happiness; but blessed be our Lord, for by His grace I do not remember, since my departure, to have committed any fault the recollection of which can sadden me at this moment.'

* *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes,* vol. xvii. p. 115 (édit. 1781).

CHAPTER XVI.

Father Mutius Vitelleschi, Sixth General of the Society, 1615-1645.

When Claudius Aquaviva breathed his last the Society of Jesus numbered thirteen thousand members throughout the world and five hundred and fifty houses, divided among fifty-three provinces. The General Congregation of the Order was convoked for the following November, and on the 15th of that month Father Mutius Vitelleschi was elected.

He was born in Rome in 1563, of a noble family, and had already been intrusted with several important offices in the Society. So remarkable was his sanctity that Urban VIII. surnamed him the Angel. Paul V. held him in equal esteem, and at one time wished to bestow upon him the cardinal's hat; but, on hearing of the honour that threatened him, Vitelleschi assembled his assistants, and besought them to induce the Pope to abandon his project. Father Balthazar, Assistant for France, at length succeeded in convincing the Pontiff that the proposed dignity was totally at variance with the spirit of the Institute.

A touching homage to the holiness of Father Vitelleschi was found among the private notes left by Blessed John Berchmans, who, as will be seen later, died at the Roman College while he was General. Among the resolutions taken by the youthful saint is the following: 'I must try to imitate the modesty of our Father General, his kindness, his affability, the joyful serenity of his countenance, and his exact care to comply in all things with the rules of the community.'

The personal influence of the sixth General of the Order, although it was thus experienced by individual members, did not embrace so wide a sphere as that of his illustrious prede-

cessor. Like Aquaviva, he directed the Society, dispersed throughout the world, with unwearied vigilance and care; but he was not called upon to take so prominent a part in important events, and his course lay among circumstances less confused and difficult. The outward action of the Order continued, however, to increase. As under Aquaviva we saw the Jesuits appear in the midst of the troubles of the League, so under Vitelleschi we shall meet them by the side of the German emperors, their pupils, during the Thirty Years' War.

The first event of importance under the new government was the condemnation at Rome of the *Monita Secreta*, an infamous libel, pretending to be the secret instructions given by the General of the Society to his subordinates. It was first published at Cracow in 1612, its object being to prove that, under an appearance of gravity and holiness, the Jesuits concealed the deepest corruption. It bore no author's name; but the Bishop of Cracow took judicial measures against Zorowski, the parish-priest of Gozdzin, who was suspected of having written it; and in 1616 a Congregation of Cardinals declared that the *Monita Secreta*, falsely attributed to the Order of Jesus, 'were absolutely condemned.' At the time of its appearance, however, the *Monita Secreta* produced little or no effect; but more than a century later, in 1761, when the Society was attacked throughout Europe, it was reprinted in Paris, with the announcement that the original manuscript had been found in the library of the Jesuits at Paderborn, or at Prague. This gross imposition deceived no one; Rome and the Polish Bishops protested against it, and even writers hostile to the Society acknowledged that the book was not the work of a Jesuit.

Seven years after the election of Father Vitelleschi, the Society enjoyed the happiness of witnessing the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Numerous petitions had been repeatedly sent to the Holy See for this object, and among the royal personages most urgent in their demands were Philip II. and Philip IV. of Spain, Sigismund King of Poland, Henry IV. and Louis XIII. of France, the Emperor Ferdinand

of Austria, the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and several empresses of Austria and queens of Spain. The process of canonization was successfully brought to a close by Urban VIII. in 1623, when the soldier-saint of Loyola and the Apostle of the East were solemnly raised to the Church's altars.

A few years later, in 1640, Father Vitelleschi, in letters addressed to the whole Society, ordered the first centenary of its foundation to be celebrated throughout the world; and upon this occasion the young Jesuit scholastics in Flanders composed a series of Latin odes, adorned, according to the taste of the day, with glowing metaphors. These effusions, inspired by filial enthusiasm for the Order, and intended only for the eyes of its members, fell later on into the hands of the Jansenists, who, by altering the texts and giving a subtle meaning to mere bursts of rhetorical display, transformed their contents into a grave proof of the pride and self-sufficiency of the Order of Jesus, purposely ignoring the fact that in the libraries of other orders similar works are to be found, filled with even greater exaggerations than those contained in the *Imago Primi Sæculi* of the young Flemish scholastics.

The provinces of the Society in Spain and Italy enjoyed comparative tranquillity during the government of Father Vitelleschi. In the former country the Jesuits were protected by Philip III., who, in 1621, died in the arms of Father Jerome de Florentia, the 'Bourdaloue of Spain;' and by Philip IV., under whose reign new colleges of the Order were founded at Orense, Segovia, Baeza, Tortosa, Palma, Manresa, San Sebastian, Vich, and Alicante. One slight incident alone, in the course of thirty years' tranquillity, occurred to disturb the peace of the Institute in Spain. At Seville, a lay-brother, who was charged with the temporal affairs of the house, wishing to increase its finances, which were then at a very low ebb, borrowed large sums of money, which he embarked in mercantile speculations; but the vessels containing his ventures were lost. He had acted solely on his own responsibility, and without the knowledge of the other fathers, who remained in ignorance of the whole affair until the moment when the creditors presented

their claims. They then, for the first time, discovered the speculations into which they had been unconsciously drawn, and, without hesitation, acknowledged their debt. The creditors were punctually paid off, and the brother who was the cause of the scandal was expelled from the Society. The authors of the *Encyclopædia* have, however, under the word 'Jesuit,' distorted the fact, by stating that 'in 1646 the fathers at Seville were bankrupt, and plunged several families into distress,' the truth being that the whole loss was sustained by the Society.

At the time when it occurred, this incident, which in after years caused some discussion, neither injured the prosperity nor lessened the high reputation enjoyed by the Institute in Spain.

In Italy, likewise, the Jesuits pursued their labours with remarkable success. In 1617 we find Father Peter Ferragut devoting himself to the prisoners of Naples, in whose favour he established the Confraternity of the Misericordia. At Lucca, Father Constanzio is chosen as arbiter between the Bishop and his people. In 1619, Father Confalonieri visits the half-civilised island of Corsica, and, by the influence of religion, puts an end to a system of crimes and violence which the laws were powerless to repress; new colleges meanwhile are founded at Syracuse, Savona, Parma, Ravenna, and in other cities.

The course of the Jesuits in Portugal lay among more difficult circumstances, and they found themselves placed in an embarrassing position by the revolution of 1648. It may be remembered how the ill-fated young king, Don Sebastian, was slain in 1578, at the battle of Alcazar. He was succeeded by his great-uncle, the Cardinal-King Henry, a friend and penitent of the Jesuits, upon whose death, in 1580, Portugal was annexed to Spain and descended to the rank of a Spanish province. With her independence she lost her navy, once so flourishing, and the richest among her colonies, which, through the carelessness of the Spaniards, were seized by the Dutch. It was not surprising that, under these circumstances, a deep feeling of discontent and an ardent yearning after national independence prevailed throughout the country, and the eyes

of the people turned anxiously towards John Duke of Braganza, the representative of the ancient Kings of Portugal.

The duke himself was weak and incapable, but he was guided in all things by his wife, Luisa de Medina-Sidonia, whose ambition was equalled by her indomitable energy and powerful intellect. She resolved to strike a blow that should deliver Portugal from the foreign yoke; and, taking advantage of the general discontent, she skilfully prepared the way for a revolution, of which she was to be the real mover, and her husband the mere instrument. The influence of the Jesuits among the people was great, and one of Doña Luisa's chief anxieties was to obtain their coöperation or, at any rate, to secure their neutrality. The fathers had a somewhat difficult part to play, between the legitimate aspirations of a people eager to regain its nationality, and the gratitude which they owed to their benefactor, the King of Spain. Wisely, therefore, the Provincial issued an order, enjoining strict neutrality; but with the excitement then prevailing it was almost impossible to observe a moderate course; and though the heads of the Order remained passive, five or six Jesuits were carried away by patriotic enthusiasm, and Fathers Freire and Correa, in particular, openly displayed their sympathy for the house of Braganza. They were, however, severely reprimanded by the Provincial; and when the long-threatening revolution actually broke out, the Jesuits all united in their endeavours to moderate the excitement of the people.

On ascending the throne, John of Braganza showed himself the protector and friend of the Society; he chose its members for his ambassadors to foreign courts, and sent Father Ignatius de Mascarenhas to Catalonia, Father Villena to Brazil, Father Cabral to Flanders, each intrusted with an important mission. No less celebrated than these, though in a different sphere, was Father Ignatius Martius, who died at Lisbon some years before. He was well known and greatly admired as an able preacher; and though a good religious, he was more remarkable for the brilliancy of his eloquence than for its solidity or serious results. A holy man once said to him: 'Ignatius, the

hand of the Most High will change you into a new man during the last seventeen years of your life.' And another time, when he was endeavouring in vain to remember one of his most effective sermons, a crucifix spoke to him, and said: 'Ignatius, take up the reed, take up the reed!' In Portugal the reed was the symbol of those who catechized the children and the poor. After a hard struggle, which he afterwards described as a 'real agony,' Father Martius embraced the course thus pointed out to him; and seventeen years before his death he began to teach the little children in the streets of Lisbon. By degrees crowds gathered to hear him; and the once courted and brilliant preacher became the apostle of the poor, the ignorant, and the degraded; wonderful conversions attended his efforts, and the little children whom he instructed became themselves apostles, and gained many souls to Christ.

Meantime the prosperity of the Society in Malta was troubled by an unexpected incident, which, in 1639, led to its temporary banishment from the island. The Jesuits enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the Grand Master Lascaris, who, partly through their advice, forbade the Italian knights of the order to act a certain play during the Carnival, rightly judging that such a performance was out of keeping with their semi-religious profession. The younger knights, irritated at a prohibition which they, not unjustly, attributed to the fathers, revenged themselves by going about during the Carnival disguised as Jesuits. Lascaris ordered Salvatici, their ringleader, to be imprisoned; and the result was that his Italian compatriots openly rebelled, attacked the Jesuits' College, and, having seized eleven of the fathers, forced them on board a ship bound for Italy.

Soon afterwards, however, through the remonstrances of Louis XIII. and the orders of Pope Urban VIII., the fathers were reëstablished in Malta. This affair, so simple in itself, has been wilfully distorted by historians hostile to the Society, especially by Vertot in his *History of Malta*, and by Arnauld in his *Morale pratique des Jésuites*. The latter has drawn most of the accusations contained in his work from an infamous

Spanish pamphlet, by an anonymous writer, called the *Teatro Jesuitico*, which was condemned by the Pope in 1656, and burnt by the Inquisition.

While these events were passing in Southern Europe, the north of Germany was torn by the long contest, known as the Thirty Years' War. Its chief cause was the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants; the Catholic principles were represented by the house of Austria, whose great power and influence excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, and national and religious animosity served alike to arm a powerful coalition against the imperial throne. The Thirty Years' War lasted from 1618 to 1648, and may be divided into four distinct periods. Though its final results, determined by the treaty of Westphalia, were less favourable to the Catholics than could be desired, yet among that party were to be found many illustrious generals, whose deeds of heroism and devotion, if unable to insure the absolute triumph of the cause, shed a lasting glory over its struggles.

It would be too long to trace out the many vicissitudes of this mighty contest, and our object must be simply to glance at the part taken by the Society of Jesus. Without interfering in the political events of the war, its members found themselves more or less involved in its vicissitudes. The chiefs of the Catholic party had been their pupils, and in a struggle, founded on religious rather than on political motives, the Jesuits were inevitably exposed to the persecutions of the heretics, who regarded them as the bulwarks of the Church, and as the ablest defenders of her teaching.

The first period of the war, commonly called the Palatine period, from the prince who bore a large share in the contest, commenced in 1618 with the rebellion of the Bohemians against the Emperor Mathias. The crown of Bohemia was given by the rebels to Frederick V., the Protestant Elector Palatine, son-in-law to James I. of England. The following year, 1619, Mathias was succeeded on the imperial throne by Ferdinand II., a pupil of the Jesuits of Ingolstadt and a prince of deep Catholic principles, who, for eighteen years, successfully resisted the

formidable forces arrayed against him. He 'deliberately put his throne to hazard over and over again, rather than make the smallest concession to the spirit of religious innovation.'* The firmness and high principle of the new sovereign, his ardent faith and unblemished purity of life, excited the admiration of his bitterest foes; and Gustavus Adolphus was accustomed to say: 'I fear only the virtues of Ferdinand.' But, as may be imagined, his uncompromising attachment to religion and to his early masters has found little favour at the hands of some Protestant and infidel historians. He has been accused of having made use of tyrannical and cruel means to carry out his favourite project of establishing Catholic unity throughout Germany; but while Elizabeth of England condemned her Catholic subjects to tortures and death that were a disgrace to a civilized nation, he was satisfied with condemning the Lutherans in his dominions to exile, or the more dangerous among them to imprisonment. According to the present sense of the word, he was intolerant no doubt; but he did not stain his hands in the blood of his subjects, or make religion the pretext for butcheries such as were witnessed by Tyburn and the Tower.

The principal generals who commanded the emperor's troops had been, like himself, educated by the Jesuits. Maximilian of Bavaria, his former schoolfellow at Ingolstadt, and later on his chief ally and support, was 'a fervent missionary wielding the powers of a prince.'† A brilliant scholar, a prudent and skilful politician, surnamed for his rare wisdom the Solomon of Germany,‡ he was as devoted a Catholic as Ferdinand himself, and, like him, cherished a deep affection for the Society to which he owed his early training. No less remarkable was John Count of Tilly, at once one of the greatest military leaders and most fervent Catholics of the day. He was born in 1559, and at the age of ten was placed under

* Macaulay's Essays: 'On Ranke's *History of the Popes*.'

† Macaulay's Essays.

‡ *Tilly, ou la Guerre de Trente Ans*, par le Cte. de Villermont-Casterman (Paris, 1860).

the care of the Jesuits of Châtelet, and then of Cologne. His rare piety, precocious gravity, and ardent love for the Society of Jesus inclined him at first to religious life; but his real vocation lay in camps and battle-fields, and throughout his long and eventful career, while supporting the imperial throne by his heroism, he did honour to his teachers by the spotless purity and holiness of his character. In 1620, Tilly and the Duke of Bavaria entered Bohemia, then occupied by the rebels, and in two successive engagements defeated the 'Winter-king,' as the Palatine was surnamed. In spite of the efforts of his generals, Ernest of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, Frederick was unable to retrieve these losses; after a brief reign he fled to Holland, and Bohemia returned to its allegiance to the emperor.

Driven out of Bohemia by the Prince Palatine, the Jesuits returned with their victorious pupil Duke Maximilian and his army. They were attached as chaplains to the Catholic troops, and when the pestilence broke out among them they devoted themselves to the care of the sick with heroic self-sacrifice. Many of them fell victims to their charity; and about the same time Father Sand, Father Boecop, and others were assassinated by the Protestant troops of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick. The latter general, who was at this period the chief of the Protestant League, carried a standard, whereon were inscribed these words, 'The friend of men, the enemy of the Jesuits.' A year before the termination of the first period of the war, in January 1624, died Father Martin Becan, the confessor of the Emperor Ferdinand. He was an eminent theologian, and an indefatigable adversary of heresy; and he had succeeded in inspiring his imperial penitent with so steadfast an attachment to the faith that, in the month of March following, we find Ferdinand, the empress, and the chancellor, Ulric Eggenberg, taking a public oath to devote themselves to insure the triumph of Catholicity throughout all the states of the empire. It required no small courage to undertake this weighty engagement; even the great Emperor Charles V. had been driven to enter into compromises with the heretics, and against

his successor were arrayed forces that might well have daunted a less energetic spirit. But, sustained by his strong faith, Ferdinand pursued his enterprise, and, under his direction, generals like Tilly, Wallenstein, Piccolomini, shed lasting glory on the cause of religion, though they were unable to secure its complete and ultimate triumph.

The second period of the war, often called the Danish period, only lasted four years, from 1625 to 1629. After the defeat of the Elector Palatine, Christian IV. of Denmark, in his turn, took up the cause of the Reformation, but was defeated at Lutter by Tilly, and forced to accept the treaty of Lübeck. Amidst the din of war the Jesuits continued their mission; and while the Protestants pursued them with untiring hatred the Catholics rallied round them with more than common love and confidence, as though they recognised in them their most valuable auxiliaries and supporters. The famous Wallenstein, whose ambition was beginning to arouse the suspicions of his imperial master, gave them a college in the town of Sagan. Other colleges were founded at Eger, Iglau, Hradek, Glogau, &c.; and in 1626 the emperor ordered an inquiry to be made as to the number of heretics converted by the Jesuits in his dominions: it was found to exceed one million.*

Another step taken by the emperor in 1629 aroused murmurs among his Lutheran subjects: he obliged all the Protestants whom he had conquered to restore the ecclesiastical possessions they had seized; and he bestowed a large portion of these lands and revenues on the Society for the foundation of new houses and colleges. This mark of favour naturally excited much discontent; the emperor was accused of unjust despotism, and the Jesuits of rapacity; but the edict in their behalf was never fully carried out, as the subsequent victories of Gustavus Adolphus gave a new direction to Ferdinand's thoughts and projects. An unexpected testimony to the services rendered to religion by the fathers is to be found in the works of a well-known enemy of the Society, Gaspar Schopp, surnamed the Attila of writers: 'Though I do not approve of

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 310.

all that is done by the Jesuits, I am bound to confess that after God it is owing to the fathers of the Society of Jesus that the Catholic religion has not been entirely banished from Germany.'*

The Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War, extending from 1630 to 1635, opened with the invasion of Germany by Gustavus Adolphus, the young and brilliant King of Sweden, who, although he declared himself the champion of Protestantism, was secretly encouraged and supported by France. In December 1631 he defeated Tilly under the walls of Leipzig. Two Jesuits, Father Lawrence Passok and Matthew Cramer, had remained on the field of battle to assist and console the dying soldiers, when they were recognized by the victorious Lutherans. Father Passok was told that his life should be spared if he consented to blaspheme the Blessed Mother of God; he replied by fervently invoking his heavenly protectress, and was barbarously murdered on the spot. A few steps beyond, Father Cramer, while hearing the confession of a wounded soldier, was shot through the head by the Prince of Lauenburg.

A few months afterwards, Tilly, whose last years had been embittered by the increasing success of the Protestant League, received his death-wound at the passage of the Lech. His soldiers carried him to Ingolstadt, where, during ten days, he lingered on, a prey to excruciating sufferings, endured with heroic patience. To the last he attended to his duties as commander-in-chief; and when, five days before his death, Gustavus Adolphus laid siege to Ingolstadt, he continued from his sick-bed to direct the movements of his soldiers, and by his exhortations he inspired them with such ardour that the besiegers were repulsed with enormous losses.

At length, on the 30th of April, the great Catholic hero breathed his last, while his Jesuit confessor, Father Andrew Brunner, repeated to him his favourite maxim, 'In Te Domine speravi, non confundar,' which during life had been ever on his lips and in his heart. Another Jesuit, the poet Father James Balde, has related in eloquent terms how during his

* Ibid. vol. iii. p. 313.

agony Tilly held in his hand the blessed candle that he had received in the Congregation of our Lady, of which he was a member, and how his dying eyes never left the crucifix suspended at the foot of his bed.

The intense grief caused by his death, when it became known to his soldiers, was sufficient proof of the love that had been felt for one who, in the midst of camps and battle-fields, led the life of a religious, but, as may be expected, the great Catholic general has met with small favour at the hands of Protestant and irreligious writers. Among other crimes, the wanton destruction by fire of the city of Magdeburg, in May 1631, has been attributed to him, and severe have been the judgments passed upon what was called an act of unnecessary barbarity. Time and research have, however, done justice to the memory of the great commander. A Protestant—Monsieur Wittick, professor of history at the University of Jena, in his work, *Magdeburg, Gustavus Adolphus, and Tilly*—has proved from hitherto unpublished documents, that the firing of the city was the work of the Protestants themselves; while another Protestant writer, Monsieur Rensch, in the *Revue Historique*, 1876, a work that cannot be supposed to be favourable to the Catholics, fully confirms the statement of the German author.

Deprived of the services of Tilly, Ferdinand II. sent Wallenstein against the King of Sweden, whom he encountered in the plains of Lützen. Here, on the 16th of November 1632, a great battle took place: the Swedes were victorious, but their royal leader perished in the midst of his triumph. The generals who succeeded him were his inferiors in talent, and in 1635 the Swedish forces were completely crushed at Nordlingen by the Catholic troops. On the battle-fields, in the prisons, in the hospitals, among scenes of blood and horror, as in the studious calm of their colleges, everywhere we find the Jesuits. The emperor had as much trust in the power of their zeal and charity as in the military skill of his generals, and his confidence was not misplaced. Though suffering, and often death, was their portion, they continued to comfort every sorrow and to struggle against every error, and by their preaching, their

success in education, and their controversial works they did as much to arrest the progress of heresy as the imperial armies themselves. They knew also how to repay by benefits the persecutions directed against them. Schiller, quoted by Crétineau-Joly, relates that in 1633 the Count de Thurn, chief of the rebels of Bohemia, and a violent enemy of the Society, was taken prisoner by Wallenstein at the battle of Steinau-on-the-Oder, and conveyed to Vienna, where the people awaited him with ferocious impatience, resolved to put him to death; but at the prayer of the Jesuits this cruel satisfaction was renounced and the great criminal restored to liberty.

The fourth or French period of the war, from 1635 to 1648, offers the painful spectacle of the nation which claims to be the eldest daughter of the Church lending an open support to Protestantism. Alarmed at the influence which the recent victories over the Swedes had insured to the house of Austria, France, then governed by Richelieu, sacrificed her religious principles to national jealousy, and allied her forces to the Protestants of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, while Spain embraced the cause of Austria. Against enemies so numerous, and commanded by generals like Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, Condé, and Turenne, Ferdinand II. could oppose but an unequal resistance. Tilly and Wallenstein were dead, and the emperor himself followed them to the grave in 1637, assisted at his last moments by the Jesuit Father Lamormaini, who had been his confessor since the death of Father Becan. Though his memory has been loaded with maledictions by the Protestants, his pure and noble character, uncompromising fidelity to his principles, and undaunted perseverance must win for him the admiration of all whose judgment is not influenced by party prejudice and passion. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III.; but the tide of success was flowing steadily in favour of the enemies of the empire, and at length the victories of the young Prince of Condé brought about the treaty of Westphalia, which secured to the Protestants the advantages they had gained, and dealt a formidable blow to the imperial house of Austria.

As we have seen throughout, the part taken by the Jesuits in this long struggle consisted chiefly in their works of charity and devotion; during the very year, however, that witnessed the treaty of Westphalia they found themselves, on one occasion, called upon to play a more active part in the contest. Charles Gustavus, who had succeeded Christina on the throne of Sweden, laid siege to the city of Prague, which was defended by Prince Collaredo. The recent success of the allied enemies of Austria had caused deep consternation throughout the empire, and the inhabitants of Prague resolved to make a supreme effort to save their city, hoping thereby to turn the tide of fortune in favour of their unhappy country. Religion and patriotism alike incited them to deeds of extraordinary valour. Father George Plachy, a Jesuit, and a man of great energy, was then professor of sacred history at the University of Prague; he led to the ramparts of the town the students who attended his classes, and his example was followed by secular priests, monks of different orders, and by seventy other Jesuits. Their exhortations powerfully contributed to sustain the courage of the inhabitants, who made so successful a defence that the Swedes were forced to retreat. The officers of the imperial army presented Father Plachy with a mural crown, and Ferdinand III. wrote to the Father General to express his admiration for one who, by his courage on the walls of Prague, had prompted his countrymen to repeat the exploits once performed on the ramparts of Pampeluna by the founder of his Order.

Curiously enough, Richelieu and Louis XIII., while lending the support of their arms to the Protestant cause, made it a point to stipulate that the interests of the Catholics, and in particular of the Jesuits, should be everywhere respected.

Thus they demanded that the members of the Society should be guarded from persecution and annoyance, and wrote to Gustavus Adolphus to impress this condition upon him. Although the request was never complied with, and the members of the Society in Germany met with cruel persecution at the hands of the Swedes, the urgent terms of the demand prove

the estimation in which Louis XIII. and his minister held the fathers.

Among the celebrated Jesuits who, during the Thirty Years' War, served their country and the Church by their labours and devotion, the name of Father Frederic de Spée must not be omitted. His mission was somewhat different from that of his brethren. He was born at Kaiserwerth, near Düsseldorf, and his attention had been drawn to the abuses in connection with the numerous trials for sorcery which were continually brought before the German tribunals. In the space of two years, 1627 to 1629, one hundred and fifty-eight persons were burnt at Würzburg on the charge of sorcery. These condemnations were too frequently the result of private enmity or blind fanaticism, and Father de Spée, who had often accompanied the unhappy victims to the stake, was so moved by the fearful spectacle that in twenty-four hours his hair became white. In 1631 he published his *Cautio Criminalis*, a work full of science, logic, and courage; he had carefully studied the mode of proceeding adopted in the case of those who were accused of magic, and his superior learning and good sense had shown him how absurd were too often the accusations brought forward by credulity and ignorance, and how cruel the tortures by which supposed confessions were sometimes extorted from innocent persons.

Although written to oppose one of the most inveterate and deeply rooted prejudices of the day, the book produced an extraordinary effect on the public mind; and from the date of its appearance trials for sorcery became more and more rare, and by degrees disappeared from Germany.

Father de Spée is famous, not only for rendering this important service to humanity, but also as a distinguished poet, and his writings, after the lapse of two hundred years, are still popular. No less celebrated in the same branch of literature was Father James Balde, a native of Alsace, whose history presents peculiar interest. During his brilliant career this Jesuit poet was held in enthusiastic admiration by his contemporaries, who surnamed him the 'German Horace,' and his reputation

was greater than that of Corneille, Milton, or Calderon.* The princes of Bavaria loaded him with marks of friendship, Ferdinand III. was his warm admirer, and Pope Alexander VIII. sent him a gold medal as a token of regard. Yet, strange to say, the poet, who in pathetic strains described the vanity of human glory, experienced to the full the emptiness of earthly honours. For more than a century complete obscurity enveloped his name, once so famous, and it is only within the last few years that his memory has been again brought to light and covered with fresh honours.

Father Balde, whose bust was placed by King Louis I. of Bavaria among the great men of Germany, and whose features have been revived in Müller's admirable fresco, was born at Ensisheim, in Alsace, in 1604, and pursued his studies at the then celebrated Jesuit University of Ingolstadt, where Ferdinand II. and Maximilian of Bavaria likewise received their education. He seems early to have given ample promise of future genius; he was a singularly gifted boy, full of life, intellect, and impetuosity of an intensely poetical and impressionable nature. He was only twenty when he entered the Society of Jesus, and his subsequent history proved that he chose the career most favourable to his welfare and happiness: religious discipline trained without crushing his impetuous character, and purified while it developed his poetic talents. His mission it was to express in a poetical form the religious and patriotic teaching that his brethren sought to propagate by their discourses and their writings, and to teach his countrymen that in their steadfast attachment to the Catholic faith lay the secret of the true prosperity of their unhappy country, then a prey to foreign invasion.

After completing his novitiate, Balde was appointed professor at the College of Munich; in 1630 he was ordained priest at Ingolstadt, and it was during his sojourn in this city that he knelt by the deathbed of Tilly, whose untimely end inspired one of his finest odes. A few years later we find him

* *Revue Catholique d'Alsace*, Mai 1868: 'Jacques Balde,' par le P. Mury, S.J.

professor at the university where, as a youth, he had achieved such brilliant success. His duties as a teacher did not check his poetical inspirations, and his principal works were composed at this period. His fame having reached Albert of Bavaria, this prince in 1637 procured his recall to Munich, and intrusted to him the education of his son Albert Sigismund; but, at the end of two years, Father Balde was raised to a still more important post, and named preacher to the reigning Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, to replace Father Drexel, who had filled that office for twenty-three years. The attachment of the duke for Father Drexel was so great that during the Jesuit's last illness he used to say to the physicians who attended him, 'Remember that the life of this father is more necessary to the country than my own.' Balde inherited his predecessor's popularity and talent; and it was said of him, as of Bourdaloue, that he was the orator of princes and the prince of orators. The weakness of his health, however, prevented him from retaining this post for more than two years; on resigning it he made his last vows, and upon this occasion he composed an ode full of enthusiastic filial love for the Society of Jesus. It must be remembered, in order fully to estimate the literary merit of both Father de Spée and Father Balde, that the German language was, at the time when they wrote, still unformed and unpolished; nevertheless, Father de Spée wrote chiefly in his native idiom, and proved that it was capable of assuming a poetical shape. Father Balde, however, yielded to the custom of most of the scholars of the day, and his principal works are in Latin. His chief characteristic is, perhaps, his earnest patriotic feeling. All the events that mark the mighty struggle of the Thirty Years' War are recorded in triumphant or pathetic accents by the bard, in whose heart religious discipline had intensified patriotism; and the succession of reverses that at length overwhelmed the Catholic party drew from him strains of heartrending sorrow. At times, it is true, his extraordinary facility betrayed him into negligence and prolixity; but these defects are redeemed by the beauty, eleva-

tion, and enthusiasm of his odes and the delicate irony of his satirical pieces.

The talent of the Jesuit patriot-poet is proved by the testimonies of his countrymen; in his own day he was surrounded with the admiration of princes and scholars, and since then his merits have been recognised by eminent writers. Schlegel praises the vigour of his thoughts, the depth and penetration of his mind, and speaks of his 'extraordinary genius.' Herder draws attention to the generous and high-minded tone that runs through his works. Goethe compares him to the pine-apple, 'the king of fruits, which, without losing its peculiar savour, unites all the most exquisite tastes;' but Father Southwell, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, gives him the eulogy that Balde himself would doubtless have preferred, when he says that 'his works had as much utility as renown; for while to some minds they taught the truths of faith, to others they taught contempt for the things of this world.'*

The last years of the famous poet were spent at Neuburg on the Danube, and his progress thither was a real triumph. At Nuremberg the magistrates sent a deputation to meet him; at Altorf the senate gave him a solemn reception; and at Neuburg itself he was welcomed by the Count Palatine Philip William, a former pupil of the Jesuits, and one of his warmest admirers. But the popularity he enjoyed never spoilt the natural simplicity of Balde's disposition; during the last two years of his life he devoted himself solely to prayer and meditation, and edified his brethren by his humility as much as he had astonished them by his genius. The favourite companions of his recreations were the little children of the count palatine, who used frequently to invade his quiet cell and oblige him to join in their games. He died on the 9th of April 1668, retaining to the last his intellect and memory unimpaired. After his death the pen he was in the habit of using was asked for by the magistrates of Nuremberg, who enclosed it in a silver case.

We have dwelt at some length upon the history of the

* *Revue Catholique d'Alsace*, Mai 1868: 'Jacques Balde,' par le P. Mury, S.J.

Jesuit poet of the Thirty Years' War, because, apart from its intrinsic interest, the biography of Father Balde is valuable, as illustrating the influence possessed by the members of the Society at this period, an influence always exercised in the service of religion and patriotism, as some Protestant historians candidly admit.*

If we turn from the tempest-tossed provinces of the German empire to the Low Countries, we find the Society of Jesus rapidly extending its action, in spite of many vicissitudes. Alexander Farnèse, a warm friend to the Institute, had appointed some of its members as chaplains to the Spanish fleet and army in Belgium and even in Holland. Though regarded with dislike by the ardent Protestant leader, Maurice of Nassau, they were to be found established at Amsterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Harlingen, and Zutphen. When, in 1620, the plague broke out among the rival armies of Maurice of Nassau and Ambrose Spinola they were to be found in the hospitals, where some of them perished, martyrs to their charity. Ten years later a horrible tragedy, of which two of the fathers were the victims, was enacted at Utrecht. In 1633 the city had submitted to the Dutch, with the express condition that the Catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that the Jesuits should be allowed to fulfil their ministry with perfect liberty. The Dutch, however, violated the stipulation, and Father Boddeus, rector of the college, remonstrated with the authorities against this breach of faith. He had already excited their anger by converting to the Catholic faith the Duke de Bouillon, governor of the city, and was destined ere long to feel the effects of their revenge. A plot to betray Utrecht into the hands of the Spaniards having been discovered, the Jesuits were accused of being its instigators, though not a particle of evidence could be produced to show that they were even aware of its existence. Nevertheless, Father John Baptist Boddeus, Father Gerard Pazman, and Philip Noltin, a lay-brother, were condemned to suffer death, and before the

* Vide Macaulay and Ranke.

sentence was carried out they were tortured for twenty hours, in the hope of forcing them to confess their imaginary guilt. After being nearly roasted alive, salt, vinegar, and gunpowder were poured into their wounds, burning torches applied to their sides, and their fingers were amputated one by one. In the midst of these exquisite sufferings the three Jesuits never ceased to protest that they were innocent; and at length their persecutors, perceiving that their efforts were useless, directed the victims to be beheaded.

In Flanders the fathers were not, as in Holland, objects of persecution, and their houses multiplied with extraordinary rapidity; at Lille, Arras, Nivelles, Armentières, Ath, and Bethune they founded new residences, and during the terrible famine by which the town of Douai was decimated, in 1620, they proved the best comforters of the people. In spite of their own sufferings, they begged for bread, which, with no thought of themselves, they distributed to the starving inhabitants; and the sight of their charity so impressed Florent de Montmorency, a member of the illustrious house of the 'Premiers Barons Chrétiens,' that, sacrificing a brilliant worldly position and great riches, he entered the Society. While the Jesuits of Holland and Flanders thus served the cause of religion by their sufferings and devotion, the neighbouring province of Brabant gave to the Society a youthful saint, whose childlike innocence and beauty recall the memory of Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislas Kostka.

John Berchmans was born at Diest, in Brabant, on the 13th of March 1599. From a worldly point of view, his birth was far less exalted than that of either the Polish nobleman or the Italian prince; for his parents were of the middle class, and in reduced circumstances. They were, however, worthy and good Christians; and their child grew up rich in gifts of sanctity. He made his studies under the Jesuits of Malines; and at the age of seventeen, after reading the life of St. Aloysius, he resolved to join the Society of Jesus. His novitiate was spent at Malines; but, in 1618, his Superiors, who built great hopes on his holiness and talents, sent him to Rome, judging that he

would there find greater advantages for the pursuit of his studies. Like St. Stanislas, whom he resembled in many ways, John Berchmans had a singularly charming and lovable character. The fathers, who knew him most intimately, were wont, after his death, to recall his beautiful countenance with its 'very bright smile' and angelic expression; and they spoke enthusiastically of his piety and modesty, his quick intelligence and constant application to his studies.

We read in his life that his professors and companions at the Roman College affirmed that they never saw him perform an action or utter a word in which there could be found the smallest venial sin. One of his chief characteristics was his love for the Blessed Virgin; and in every difficulty he had recourse to her intercession. Thus one day he was ordered by his Superiors to preach on the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti; and some soldiers, who were playing or quarrelling there, seeing him about to begin, called after him in an insolent manner to go his way and hold forth elsewhere. Berchmans made no reply, but went into the church to pray for a few minutes before the Madonna's altar, after which he returned to begin his sermon, in spite of the alarm of his companions. He felt certain that our Lady would assist him; and so it proved, for he had barely finished the 'Hail Mary,' by which he began his discourse, than the soldiers left their game to gather round him, listened with the deepest attention, and, in their admiration for the youthful preacher, insisted on escorting him home to the college.

In 1621, Berchmans announced that his death was at hand; but he appeared so full of life and health, that no belief was placed in the prediction. Early in August, however, he fell ill of inflammation of the lungs, and on the 13th of the month breathed his last. To the end he was ever bright and gentle; and when the brother who had the care of him told him that he was to receive the Viaticum he joyfully embraced him, and thanked him for the happy tidings. A few days before his death he dictated to the infirmarian a paper with his last wishes and requests. He begins by begging pardon of

the 'Reverend and dear Father General' for all his faults, and by thanking his 'very good mother the Society of Jesus' for the blessings bestowed on an unworthy child. Then he names each of his professors, to thank them, one and all, for their kindness. It is touching to read how the venerable fathers of the Gesù, the professors of the Roman College, the Father General himself, men grown gray in years of arduous apostolate and literary labour, crowded round the deathbed of the bright boy-saint, who, gifted with a miraculous power of reading hearts, gave to many of them precious advice and words of comfort. The grief of Berchmans' professors at losing him seems to have been very great; Father Grassi in particular, who had taught him mathematics, was so overcome when his dying pupil thanked him for the pains he had taken with him, that he fell down on his knees, crying out amidst his tears, 'I ought rather to ask your forgiveness for not showing you more affection, and for not following, as I ought, your good example.' So general was the impression of Berchmans' unusual sanctity that, only five months after his death, Philip d'Arenberg, Duke of Aerstadt, presented a petition to Gregory XV., requesting that inquiries might be commenced respecting his life, his virtues, and the miracles he had worked. It was not, however, till 1865 that he was beatified by Pius IX.*

During the government of Father Vitelleschi, as under that of Aquaviva, the Order of Jesus gave to the world, not only saints and apostles, but also men of great learning and science, whose achievements earned for them a high place in the world of students.

Among theologians we have already mentioned Cardinal Bellarmine, who died in Rome six years after the election of Father Vitelleschi, and was, by his own express desire, laid at the feet of his youthful penitent, Aloysius Gonzaga. Among geometricians and astronomers must be named the Jesuit missionaries in China, whose labours will form the subject of a separate chapter; Father Schonberger, whose book, *Demonstratio et Constructio novorum Horologiorum*, published in 1622,

* *Life of Blessed John Berchmans*, by Father Deynoodt, S.J.

produced an immense sensation; Father Zucchi, who perfected and improved the telescope, and who was a celebrated preacher as well as an illustrious mathematician.

More famous even than these was Father Athanasius Kircher,* the universal genius, whose vast stores of knowledge included physic, natural history, philosophy, mathematics, theology, antiquities, music, ancient and modern languages. He was the first to study the Coptic tongue and to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphics; he was also the inventor of the magic-lantern, and of various scientific instruments, among others of a mathematical organ. Besides these discoveries, he found time to write several works on scientific subjects, and to make a valuable collection of antiquities, still to be seen at the Roman College.

About the same period lived Father Bartoli, whose life of St. Ignatius is one of the most interesting ever written. His works form valuable contributions to the history of the Society.

The long reign of the sixth General of the Order, marked in Germany by the Thirty Years' War, was occupied in France by the birth and growth of the great Jansenist schism, to which a succeeding chapter must be devoted.

* Born near Fulda in 1602; died at Rome in 1680.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Society of Jesus in France under Father Mutius Vitelleschi.

COMMENCEMENT OF JANSENISM.

WHILE the events related in a previous chapter were taking place in Germany and in Southern Europe, the French Jesuits were steering their course with some difficulty between the different parties formed by Richelieu, the queen-mother, and the young King Louis XIII. This prince had been brought up to love the Institute of St. Ignatius; and until 1617 had been under the direction of his father's friend, Father Coton, who that year begged leave to retire from the court, and was replaced by Father Arnoux. The king's new confessor was, like Father Coton, an able controversialist and a famous preacher, and soon became the object of the attacks of the Protestants, although, according to the constitutional Bishop Grégoire, in his *Histoire des Confesseurs des Empereurs et des Rois*, his advice to the king on the subject of heretical subjects was marked by extreme moderation.* Father Arnoux did not, however, long retain his place at court. His attempts to reconcile the young king and his mother, between whom court intrigues had brought a complete separation, and his frank defence of the exiled queen, irritated those whose object it was to widen the breach between mother and son. He was succeeded by Father Séguiran, who, in his turn, was replaced by Father Jean de Suffren. The latter had been for fourteen years confessor to Marie de' Medicis, and, a reconciliation having been effected between this princess and her son, he assumed the same office towards Louis XIII. in 1625. It was about

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 335.

this time that Cardinal de Richelieu, a man of rare ability and inflexible firmness of purpose, took the reins of government, and ere long was the real monarch of France. The powerful minister perceived that the Jesuits might prove valuable auxiliaries in his struggles against the Protestants, whom he sternly repressed in France, although, from policy, he did not scruple to support them in the struggle in Germany. To the Calvinist ministers of Charenton, who were violently opposed to the Society, he said: 'The goodness of God is so great that He generally turns to good the evil that is attempted against His own. You think to injure the Jesuits, and you serve them greatly; for every one will recognise that it is a great glory for them to be blamed by lips who accuse the Church, calumniate the saints, insult Jesus Christ, and accuse God Himself. . . . Many persons bear them special love because they are hated by you.'

Various causes, however, contributed to create an antagonism between the all-powerful cardinal and the Society of Jesus. The former was guided in his actions partly by political considerations, while the latter regarded solely the welfare of religion; and these different views brought them at times into collision. In 1625, Father Keller, a German Jesuit, confessor to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, published two books, in which he censured the policy of Richelieu, who, in order to humble the imperial house of Austria, made common cause with the German Protestants. Though published in Germany, and bearing no author's name, these books, *Mysteria Politica* and *Admonitio ad Regem Christianissimum*, were, by Richelieu's orders, condemned by the University and Parliament of Paris. At this period it was the common practice of the enemies of the Society to attribute all writings and libels in opposition to the policy of the cardinal to Father Garasse, a Jesuit of Paris; and Father Keller's books were immediately assigned to him. Father Garasse,* one of the most celebrated Jesuits of the day, was a man of real piety and goodness; but his style of writing was aggressive, caustic, and violent, disfigured by invectives

* Born at Angoulême in 1585.

and exaggeration. He possessed undoubted talent, though wanting in moderation and refinement. It was he who, with untiring *verve* and energy, replied to all the charges brought forward against the Society by the university and parliament as well as by the Calvinists; and it must be remembered that, if he often sinned against the rules of dignified controversy, his adversaries equalled, if they did not surpass, his violent language. He was looked upon with real terror by the enemies of the Jesuits, whose attacks he never suffered to pass unnoticed; and with suspicion by Richelieu, who caused him to be exiled to Poitiers, where he died of the plague, while nursing the sick in the hospitals, in 1631.

This terrible controversialist was much esteemed by his brethren. Father Southwell and Father Alegamba, in their histories, praise his kind heart; and Father Coton was tenderly attached to him. Among the works he published was one called *Doctrine curieuse des beaux Esprits de ce Temps*, 1623. The celebrated Balzac, who had been his pupil, and whose affected and *précieux* style contrasts strangely with the caustic vigour of his former master, having asked for a copy of the book, Father Garasse sent him one, whereupon Balzac wrote a pamphlet to abuse it in violent terms. The Jesuit replied by another pamphlet, written, it must be owned, in a style more forcible than polite, in which he unmercifully holds up to ridicule Balzac's affectations and self-conceit. At the same time, however, he sent his old pupil a private letter, that seems to have had far more effect than his unsparing criticisms. Balzac felt that he had been ungrateful to his former master. A sincere reconciliation was effected, and a friendship established that continued throughout the lives of both. Perhaps the most signal service rendered to the Society by Father Garasse was his able refutation of Etienne Pasquier, the Jesuits' sworn foe, whose calumnies he victoriously disproved.

In 1626, the year that followed the appearance of Father Keller's book, another work was published that still further contributed to excite the anger of Richelieu against the Society. Father Antonio Santarelli, an Italian Jesuit, had some time

before written a treatise,* in which he attributed to the Pope the power of deposing kings who were guilty of certain crimes, and under such circumstances of absolving their subjects from their allegiance. The doctrines which he expounded had been universally accepted in the Middle Ages, and were still professed by Ultramontane theologians, although they had become impossible in practice. The Paris Jesuits accidentally saw the book in a shop, and directly realised that in France Santarelli's doctrines would furnish a fresh pretext for persecution. In Italy they would be received with indifference, and regarded in their true light as the high-flown and impracticable theories in which theologians and schoolmen have at all times delighted; but in Paris, under the rule of Richelieu, with the university and parliament ever on the watch, the teaching so harmless beyond the Alps would certainly be construed into a provocation to rebellion and regicide. In order, if possible, to avert the storm, the Jesuits of Paris endeavoured to buy up all the copies of the treatise; but one unfortunately fell into the hands of a doctor of the Sorbonne, and very soon its contents were known throughout Paris. As had been foreseen, the members of the university eagerly seized upon the opportunity to accuse the Jesuits, and Richelieu ordered Father Santarelli's book to be publicly burnt on the Place de Grève; it seemed to the ambitious minister to menace the despotic power of which he was so jealous. At the same time the parliament debated whether further measures should not be taken against the fathers, and at one moment it seemed likely that a sentence of banishment would be pronounced against them. At length, however, it was resolved that they should be called upon to sign a protestation, disowning all the dangerous doctrines contained in Santarelli's treatise. This they consented to do, Richelieu declared himself satisfied, and the affair came to an end.

From motives of peace and prudence the French Jesuits consented to disown all the passages that gave umbrage to the

* 'Tractatus de hæresi, schismate, apostasia, sollicitatione in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ et de potestate Summi Pontificis in his delictis puniendis.'

king and his minister, but no formal condemnation was ever pronounced by competent authority against the book; Father Vitelleschi had allowed its publication, being well aware of the harmless nature of its theories, and its first pages contained a warm eulogy from a Dominican monk.

In the midst of these vexations, Father Coton, the friend of Henry IV., died in Paris, in March 1626. On his deathbed he was visited by an envoy of the parliament, who informed him of the condemnation pronounced against Santarelli, and of the severe measures that threatened his brethren. The dying Jesuit was heard to murmur, 'Is it possible that I, who for thirty years have faithfully served two Kings of France, should be looked upon at last as guilty of treason and as a disturber of public peace?' He died on the feast of St. Joseph, as he had always desired, and from that moment a reaction set in in favour of the Society; the house in Paris was besieged by eager crowds, anxious to venerate his remains, the Archbishop of Paris presided at the funeral service, and Richelieu himself came to pray by the grave of him whose last moments he had embittered.

In spite of these difficulties, which were confined to the Jesuits in Paris, the Order was at this time highly flourishing throughout France; in 1617 the number of pupils in the colleges of the Province of Paris alone amounted to 13,195, and the four other Provinces of Lyons, Toulouse, Guienne, and Champagne had also a large number of students. In 1627, in order to show them his good-will and complete forgetfulness of past dissensions, the king, who was merely a tool in the hands of Richelieu, laid the first stone of the Jesuits' professed house in the Rue St. Antoine; and a few months later, the cardinal, surrounded by a brilliant retinue, was present at the play with which the fathers celebrated the end of the year's study. Among the pupils who acted on this occasion were Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti, and the Prince of Savoie-Nemours.

It has been mentioned that a reconciliation had been effected between the king and his mother; unfortunately it was but temporary, and in 1631, Marie de' Medici was forced to

exile herself from France. Father Jean de Suffren was still confessor to the queen and to her son; but in spite of the prayers of Louis XIII., who was tenderly attached to him, he preferred to cast in his lot with the friendless and banished queen, whose fortunes he followed till his death, some years later.

A few months after Father de Suffren's voluntary exile, Father Arnoux was called upon to console another victim of Richelieu's policy. The short life and tragic end of Henri de Montmorency are well known. Young, chivalrous, and handsome, he was seduced into rebellion by Gaston d'Orléans, the king's brother, who, according to his usual practice, in order to obtain his own pardon, abandoned his victims to their fate, and the unhappy duke was condemned to be beheaded in October 1632. At Montmorency's own request, Father Arnoux heard his confession, and with three other Jesuits attended him to the scaffold, where he died with a fortitude worthy of the 'first Christian baron.' Some years later, two equally-celebrated conspirators, De Thou and Cinq-Mars, were executed at Lyons, and consoled at their last moments by the Jesuit Fathers Mambrun and Malavalette. Little did De Thou the historian think, when he penned pages so full of hostility to the Institute of Jesus, that his son would owe the comfort of his last hours to a member of that hated Order.

With unsparing rigour Richelieu thus struck down all whose ambition threatened the authority of the king. It is true that his genius and policy were doing a grand and useful work for France, by breaking the power of the nobles, and establishing the royal authority on a firm basis; but in order to carry out the reorganization of the kingdom, on which he was engaged, he had recourse to a system of severity that few ventured to resist. Marie de' Medici had been banished, Anne of Austria was without influence, the king completely governed by his minister's superior genius; the generals, bishops, and statesmen who had opposed the cardinal were in the Bastille or in exile. Father Caussin, the king's new confessor, felt that he too was expected to bow down before the omnipotent minister;

but though he fully recognized the great gifts of Richelieu, and the importance of the reforms he had undertaken, he openly blamed his alliance with the German Protestants. His uncompromising frankness cost him his position, and he was replaced by the celebrated Father James Sirmond, so eminent for his high character and scientific attainments that the Roman purple had been offered to him; he was an antiquarian, a theologian, and an accomplished scholar, and during his long residence in Rome the great men of letters of the day eagerly sought his acquaintance.

Richelieu's eventful career was drawing to a close. He died in December 1642, and Louis XIII. survived him little more than a year. On his deathbed the king, by the advice of Father Dinet, a Jesuit who assisted him, publicly expressed his regret for the harsh treatment that, with his permission, had been inflicted on his mother. Five days later, on the 19th of May 1643, the reign of Louis XIV. was brilliantly inaugurated by the battle of Rocroy, where the imperial troops were defeated by the young Duke of Enghien, who gained this splendid victory at the early age of twenty-two. He had been educated by the Jesuits of Bourges, and had there learnt the art of fortification from an old lay-brother, named Dubreuil, who was an eminent artist and mathematician. Saints as well as heroes were formed in the colleges of the Society, and most of the great and holy men who then flourished in France owed their early training to the sons of St. Ignatius. Among them may be mentioned St. Francis of Sales, a pupil of the College of Clermont; the Cardinal de Bérulle, founder of the French oratory; Monsieur Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice; Blessed Peter Fourrier, the reformer of the Augustinians; and Father Eudes, who established the Congregation of the Eudistes. Another great saint of the day, though not educated by the Jesuits, ever showed them true and deep affection; St. Vincent of Paul was often heard to say that he had a 'particular veneration for the holy Society of Jesus.'*

It has been seen that in France the members of the Society

* *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, par Collet, vol. ii. p. 88.

who were called upon to fill the difficult office of confessors to crowned heads had, to a great extent, steered clear of the dangers attending their mission, for if their frankness and uncompromising integrity had often brought them into disgrace, they had preserved unstained their moral rectitude and religious dignity. This was unfortunately not the case in Lorraine, where, in 1637, Father Didier Cheminot was confessor to the fickle and brilliant Duke Charles IV. Flattered perhaps by the favour bestowed upon him by the sovereign, he so far forgot his duty as to sanction the marriage of Charles to Beatrix de Cautecroix during the lifetime of his first wife, whom he was anxious to repudiate.

In consequence of this guilty concession Father Cheminot was severely reprimanded by the General, disowned by his brethren, and excommunicated by the Pope; and furious at the opposition of the Jesuits, who declined to recognise his second marriage, Charles pillaged their houses in Alsace, but he could not conquer their resistance. At length, in 1643, Father Cheminot repented and was absolved from the censures he had incurred; but the blame, due to him alone, has been most unjustly visited on the whole Society by hostile historians, who purposely ignore the fact that the father's compliance was condemned by the General, and that his brethren in Lorraine suffered grievously from their firmness in opposing the duke's guilty designs.

About this time (1630) a momentous period was beginning for the Society of Jesus in France. The great schism of Jansenius had its origin under the government of Father Mutius Vitelleschi, though we shall see its continuation and development under his successors. The prominent part taken by the Jesuits in this long struggle between truth and error inseparably connects their history with that of the famous heresy which they so constantly and valiantly opposed.

Cornelius Janssen, commonly known as Jansenius, was born at Arkoy, in Holland, in 1585, of a poor Catholic family. At the age of seventeen he went to Louvain, where he was befriended by a celebrated Jesuit, Father Sucquet, and during his

stay at the university he formed a close intimacy with one of his fellow-students, a Frenchman named Duvergier de Hauranne, born at Bayonne in 1581. Both young men were strongly influenced by the doctrines of Baïus, who some years before had been professor at Louvain, and whose errors it may be remembered had been condemned by Rome, and victoriously refuted by the Jesuits Bellarmine, Lessius, and Toletus. The controversy, which had excited such keen interest at the time it took place, left behind it a spirit of animosity between the university and the Society; this was speedily imbibed by Jansenius and Duvergier, and rendered more bitter in the former by the fact that the fathers had declined to admit him into their Order, of which he once desired to become a member. After their first acquaintance at Louvain the two friends lived together at Bayonne, where they spent their time in study, giving special attention to the works of St. Augustin; and during this period Duvergier wrote one or two treatises on religious subjects. They contained no heresies, but strange, eccentric, and wild notions, revealing an untrained imagination and an ill-balanced mind. In 1617, Jansenius returned to Belgium, and Duvergier became theologian to the Bishop of Poitiers, and in a short time got involved in a quarrel with the Jesuits of that town. At his instigation a Capuchin had announced from the pulpit that every one was bound, under pain of mortal sin, to attend High Mass on Sundays in the parish church. This extraordinary announcement was generally believed to be directed against the Jesuits, whose church was much frequented; and Father Vignier, one of their body, wrote a treatise to refute the doctrine taught by the Capuchin. So complete was his success that the tide of public opinion turned against Duvergier, who in his anger induced the Bishop to suppress the Congregation of our Lady, which was directed by the fathers. The Bishop, however, soon regretted the measure he had been persuaded to take, and, wishing to rid himself of a restless and dangerous spirit, he obtained for Duvergier the abbey of St. Cyran, by which name he was subsequently known.

St. Cyran was undoubtedly a man of great learning, quick intelligence, and studious habits, but at the same time he was characterized by strong self-will, bitter prejudices, and an inordinate craving for notoriety and applause. 'In order to understand the kind of success which attended him in subsequent years, we must take into consideration a great many elements which were then influencing minds in various ways and degrees. . . .'* It was an epoch of new life and energy in the Church of France; but the religious controversies of the last hundred years had left a feeling of unrest and disquietude on subjects connected with religion, and 'there was much jealousy and party spirit afloat ready to lay hold of disputes as to doctrines, as the occasions for personal conflicts.'† Though St. Cyran's doctrines on grace were as yet undeveloped, even at this early period he discouraged the frequentation of the Sacraments, and spoke of the Church as needing great reforms in her doctrines and morals. These ideas, however, he only imparted to a chosen few; but his appearance of austerity and learning had an attraction for many, and gained for him a certain reputation, which was increased by his close intimacy with the family of the Arnaulds.

The head of this remarkable family, so conspicuous in the history of Jansenism, was the Antoine Arnauld who, as we have seen, made a violent speech against the Jesuits on the occasion of Barrière's design against Henry IV. in 1593. He had several children, the most remarkable of whom were Arnauld d'Andilly, his eldest, and Antoine, his youngest, son, and his daughter Jacqueline, better known as the Mère Angélique. At the age of eight she was placed at the abbey of Maubuisson, then governed by Madame d'Estrées, sister to Gabrielle d'Estrées; but her father had resolved to obtain for her the abbey of Port Royal, near Paris. At his request the king promised to give Port Royal to *Jacqueline* Arnauld; but as Rome refused to grant the necessary Bulls on account of her youth, after her confirmation, when she changed her name, her

* 'St. Cyran,' by Father Coleridge, S.J.: *The Month*, Sept. 1874.

† Ibid.

father applied for fresh Bulls for *Angélique* Arnauld, whom he described as seventeen, though she was really only nine. They were granted; and through this fraud the child was installed in the monastery in July 1602, and consecrated abbess on the day of her first Communion.

The monastery of Port Royal was situated in the wild and desert valley of Chevreuse, about fifteen miles from Paris, and, at the time of Jacqueline's arrival, the mode of life of the community was far from strict. The little abbess said her office regularly, and the rest of the day played about the cloisters and gardens; but as she grew up she became so disgusted at the laxity of the nuns, and the disuse into which the rules had fallen, that she resolved to fly from the convent. One day, however, her father, who seems to have suspected her design, made her sign a paper without telling her of its contents; it turned out to be a renewal of her vows. In 1608 a great change came over her, which Jansenist historians describe as her conversion, and she decided to reform the monastery. In spite of the opposition of her father and family, who were accustomed to come and go at Port Royal as they pleased, without any regard to the rule of enclosure, this abbess of seventeen carried out her project with extraordinary firmness. She caused the enclosure to be observed once more, enforced the practice of poverty and obedience, and, though naturally of a hard and imperious disposition, she exerted her influence with such success that the nuns willingly consented to the changes she proposed. This was the brightest time in the life of Angélique Arnauld, and it was then that she met St. Francis of Sales, and begged to be admitted into the Visitation. St. Jeanne de Chantal was fascinated, like many others, by the nobility of soul, masculine energy, and intellectual power of the young abbess; but St. Francis, although he too appreciated her grand qualities, judged her unfit for his Institute.

In 1618, Angélique was directed to reform the abbey of Maubuisson, which she accomplished, not without much resistance on the part of Madame d'Estrées; and a few years after

this she had the misfortune to fall under the influence of St. Cyran, when her naturally noble and ardent character became warped and spoilt by pride and obstinacy. St. Cyran settled in Paris in 1621. During all these years he had kept up a close correspondence with Jansenius, who was preparing his book, the *Augustinus*, in which he professed to expound, but in reality distorted, the doctrine of St. Augustin upon grace.

According to the agreement entered into by St. Cyran and his friend, the former was to gain influence in France, and by this means to propagate the teaching professed by both; he also wrote one or two books, in which the spirit of Jansenism begins to reveal itself, but his chief means of gaining ground was by spiritual direction.

In 1623 the Mère Angélique left Port Royal des Champs with her nuns, in order to occupy a new convent in Paris, also called Port Royal, and here she first made the acquaintance of St. Cyran. The convent was at this time under the direction of Monseigneur Zamet, Bishop of Langres, who was frequently assisted in his ministry by the Jesuits, Father de Suffren and Father Hayneufve; and the three were doing much real good to the community. St. Cyran was introduced to Monseigneur Zamet by Arnauld d'Andilly, Mère Angélique's younger brother, and by him was brought into communication with the nuns, among whom he gradually acquired great influence. By the advice of Monseigneur Zamet the community had, in a special manner, devoted itself to honour the Blessed Sacrament, and the nuns had taken the name of 'Filles du St. Sacrement;' but this change, which at first produced greater fervour, gradually, as the influence of St. Cyran's peculiar teaching became apparent, assumed a new aspect—their devotion changed into a fear that kept them from Holy Communion for long periods together. This was still more marked in a branch house of the order, established in the Rue Coquillière, in Paris, where St. Cyran reigned supreme. About this time, acting under his guidance, Mère Agnès Arnauld, a younger sister of Angélique, published the *Chapelet secret du St. Sacrement*, a book full of fantastic and abstruse ideas, tending to keep people away from

the Sacraments, and which was, in consequence, condemned by the Sorbonne and suppressed by Rome. By this time, Monseigneur Zamet was excluded from any share in the direction of the nuns, who were so far impressed by St. Cyran's views that many of them abstained from Communion for fifteen months together. Angélique and Agnès Arnauld were his warmest supporters inside the convent; while outside, their nephews Antoine Lemaître and De Sacy; Lancelot, Singlin, Blaise Pascal, Nicole, all of them men of learning and talent, gradually became his fervent disciples; and even great ladies of the court, like the Princesse de Guemené and the Duchesse de Longueville, gave him their countenance and protection.

However, in May 1638, to the consternation of his followers, St. Cyran was arrested by royal command and imprisoned at Vincennes. The immediate cause of this measure was the excitement raised by a book called *De Virginitate*, published by an Oratorian named Seguenot, a devoted member of the new sect. The work was full of errors, and Richelieu, who had heard of St. Cyran's peculiar views, seized the pretext to imprison one whom he rightly considered as a dangerous innovator. At the same time he caused the convent of the 'Filles du St. Sacrement' to be closed, and the 'solitaires,' as those were called who, like Lemaître, lived separately in retirement, to be dispersed. To all appearances, the new heresy bade fair to die out under this stern but wise repression, had it not just at that moment received a fatal impulse from the publication of Jansenius's famous work.

In 1638, the year of St. Cyran's arrest, Jansenius, who had been made Bishop of Ypres, died in that city. He received the last Sacraments, and on his deathbed confided the manuscript on which he had spent his life to two friends, begging them to have it printed, but submitting it to any corrections that might be required by the Holy See. It was a very lengthy work, its main object being to persuade Christians that Christ did not die for the whole world; that God does not desire the salvation of all men; that interior grace is irresistible, and that free-will does not exist, as man is forced to do either good or

evil, according to the power that predominates in him at the time, whether grace or inclination to sin. Tromendus and Calenus, the friends to whom Jansenius had intrusted his manuscript, were disciples of Baïus and sworn enemies of the Jesuits. They succeeded in obtaining from the Archbishop of Malines permission to print the work, under his patronage; but the Jesuits chanced to obtain a sight of the proof-sheets, and immediately raised the alarm. The story goes that 'a storm of wind one day blew a considerable number of sheets off the lines, where they were hanging to dry, into the streets, and many of them were picked up and carried off to a Jesuit father.'* On looking over them, he found they formed part of a treatise upon grace by Jansenius, and were full of dangerous errors. The Jesuits called the attention of the Nuncio Strani to the affair, and pointed out that, even if it had not been treated in an unorthodox manner, the subject was in all cases a forbidden one, as Pius V., Gregory XIII., Paul V., and Urban VIII. had, since the discussions originated by Baïus, prohibited the publication of any works upon grace.

Strani wrote to Rome, whence Cardinal Barberini, nephew to Pope Urban VIII., replied by praising his vigilance, and desiring him, by order of the Pope, to suppress the book. But in the mean time the printing had been completed, and the *Augustinus* was ready for sale in the course of 1640, to the great joy of the Dutch Calvinists, who purchased a large number of copies. In the month of July of that year the Pope issued a formal decree to suppress the work, but as Jansenius had powerful friends in Belgium, no attention was paid to the sentence, and in 1641 a Parisian edition was already in circulation. The Jesuits in the Low Countries exerted themselves to the utmost to counteract the fatal influence of the *Augustinus;* but the Church having forbidden anything to be printed on the subject of grace, they were obliged to refute its false teaching by disputations at their College of Louvain. These public theses were carefully drawn up by their theologians, and

* 'St. Cyran,' by F. Coleridge : *The Month*, Sept. 1874. *Histoire du Jansénisme*, par P. Rapin, liv. ix. p. 415.

brilliantly expounded by a young Jesuit of much promise, Father Thibaut.

Meanwhile the *Augustinus* was examined at Rome, and found to contain many errors; but the Bull in which it was solemnly condemned was not published till April 1643, and this unfortunate delay enabled the chiefs of the sect to gain ground both in France and in Belgium. When it at length appeared it was only partially accepted in the Low Countries, where Jansenius had left many disciples; and in France, where Mazarin, who had now succeeded Richelieu as minister, only lent it a feeble support. St. Cyran had been liberated from prison on the death of Richelieu, in January 1643, and was more influential than ever in the eyes of his disciples, who looked upon him in the light of a martyr. A great impetus was now given to his party by the publication of the famous book, *De la fréquente Communion*, written, at the instigation of St. Cyran, by Antoine Arnauld, a priest and a doctor of the Sorbonne, and, like all his family, a zealous Jansenist. Its object was to keep persons away from Holy Communion, under the pretence of respect, and it had an extraordinary success, owing to the talent and *verve* with which it was written, and, it may be added, to the attacks upon the Jesuits which it contained. It excited passionate enthusiasm among the followers of St. Cyran, and no less violent opposition from their adversaries. St. Vincent of Paul loudly proclaimed its danger, and Anne of Austria, then regent for her son, referred it to Rome, by whom it was condemned in January 1647. As may be supposed, the Jesuits, who, some years before, had written against the *Chapelet secret du St. Sacrement*, did not fail to refute Arnauld's dangerous work; and Father Denis Petau,* one of their number, whom the Comte de Maistre calls the most learned man of his day, accomplished this difficult task with rare erudition and talent. He was Arnauld's equal in ability, and at the age of only twenty had been professor of philosophy at Bourges. His name soon became celebrated throughout Europe; he was referred to by learned men of all countries,

* Born at Orleans, 1583; died in Paris, 1652.

consulted by Bishops, and universally acknowledged to be the greatest dogmatic theologian of the time. Besides this, he was an eminent Greek and Latin poet. But his deep humility surpassed even his learning; and on one occasion, when the Pope and the King of France declared their intention of making him a cardinal, his grief was such that he fell dangerously ill, and was only cured by the assurance that he should be spared the dreaded honour.

When the controversies raised by the *Fréquente Communion* were at their height, and Father Petau was defending with consummate skill the cause of truth, St. Cyran fell ill and died in October 1643, leaving Arnauld to be the head of the party he had formed. It is uncertain whether this man, whose influence was so baneful to the cause of religion, received the Sacraments at the last; but his funeral was celebrated with great solemnity, and his tomb at St. Jacques du Haut Pas became a Jansenist pilgrimage. During his illness he was attended by the same doctor as the Jesuits; and he bade him tell the fathers not to rejoice at his death, for he left behind him a dozen men stronger than himself. It will be seen, in succeeding chapters, that this was no idle boast, and that his disciples, many of whom were men of remarkable ability, continued to propagate his doctrines, while the Order of Jesus remained their chief adversary and the object of their bitterest hatred.

The popularity acquired by doctrines, which at first sight appear so unattractive and sombre, may be attributed to four principal causes: first, to political opposition. The court, and especially the queen regent, were the open adversaries of the new teaching, which, in consequence, was warmly embraced by the party of the Fronde, and all the ambitious and discontented nobility. In the second place, learned men found intellectual pride and pleasure in discussing the subtle and abstruse questions started by the Jansenists, while religious, especially women, were fascinated by its far-fetched and mystical piety. Thirdly, the profession of strict theories was found by many a convenient mask for the laxity of morals then prevalent; and

lastly, Jansenism gave an easy pretext for the omission of religious practices, under the plea of unworthiness.

While the Jesuits in the north of France were engaged in these controversial discussions one of the Society was devoting his life to the work of evangelizing the towns and villages of Languedoc, where his labours were rewarded with extraordinary success. St. Francis Régis was born at Fontcouverte, in the diocese of Narbonne, in 1597, and entered the Order of Jesus in 1606. According to custom, the years that followed his novitiate were devoted to teaching; but in 1631 his Superiors, perceiving that his love for the poor and his natural eloquence fitted him for the life of a missionary, sent him to preach in his native province; and this he continued to do until his death.

For ten years the indefatigable apostle pursued his missionary labour, and everywhere wonderful results attended his words. A parish priest, in whose village he heard two thousand confessions in the space of a month, said of him: 'Neither torrents swollen by rain nor the snow that blocked up the passes could hinder the zeal of this apostolic man. . . . I have often seen him on the top of a mountain, standing on a block of frozen snow, distributing to the people the word of God.'* Others dwell on the expression of his countenance, worn by penance, but radiant with sweetness and charity, and on the deep recollection and modesty that added so much force to his exhortations.

He died in the exercise of his ministry, a martyr to his zeal. He had promised to preach during the last days of Advent at La Louvesc, a village in the very heart of the Cevennes; but it seemed as though he felt that this mission would be his last; for before leaving Le Puy he made a retreat of three days and a general confession.

According to his custom, he travelled on foot and alone; his road lay through rocky mountain-paths, bordered by deep precipices, and covered with snow. At the end of the second day he lost his way, and spent the night of the 23d of Decem-

* *Vie de St. François Régis*, par Daurignac.

ber in an open shed, exposed to the intense cold. When he reached La Louvesc he was consumed by a burning fever; but for two days he continued to preach and hear confessions, after which his strength completely failed, and on the last day of the year 1640 this great apostle of the poor died calmly and sweetly at the age of forty-three. He was canonized in 1737 by Pope Clement XII.

The long reign of the sixth General of the Society was now drawing to a close; and on the 9th of February 1645, Father Vitelleschi breathed his last, a few months only after Pope Urban VIII., the friend and protector of the Institute.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The English Province under the first Stuart Kings.

THE IRISH AND SCOTCH PROVINCES OF THE S.J.

THE ill-advised and criminal attempt of the Gunpowder Plot, for which a few misguided Catholics were really responsible and all the Catholics in England more or less suffered, was followed by acts of renewed severity on the part of the government. New bills were passed inflicting fresh penalties on the unhappy 'recusants.' Thus every Catholic was placed in the same position as if he had been excommunicated by name. His house might be searched, his books and furniture might be burnt, and his horses and arms taken from him by order of the neighbouring magistrate. Every child sent for education beyond the sea was from that moment debarred from taking any benefit by descent, legacy, or gift until he should return and conform to the Established Church, all such benefit being assigned to the Protestant next-of-kin.

But more injurious to Catholic interests than these cruel enactments was the new oath of allegiance demanded by James I., and which became a cause of division in the Catholic body. In the formula now required, Catholics were made not only to disclaim the deposing power of the Pope, but also to declare that to maintain it was impious, heretical, and damnable. According to the French ambassador Villeroy, this new act was more suited to barbarians than to Christians. The Pope, Paul V., who a short time before had publicly expressed his horror at the Gunpowder Plot, and had exhorted the English Catholics to abstain from all treasonable practices, now issued a Brief to condemn the oath of allegiance, as containing 'many things contrary to faith and salvation.' The archpriest,

George Blackwell, however, refused to submit to the Papal decree or to notify it to his flock. In 1606 he took the oath himself, and addressed a circular to the Catholic priests and laymen, advising them to follow his example. This drew forth a second Brief from Rome, in which the Pope renewed his condemnation of the oath; at the same time Cardinal Bellarmine and Father Parsons wrote to Blackwell, entreating him to retract; but he replied by a long defence of his opinions and conduct; and the Pope then named George Birkenhead archpriest in his stead.

King James was furious at the Pope's decree on the subject of the oath, and himself wrote in answer *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, to which Bellarmine and Parsons replied; but he answered their arguments by a second book, of which the French ambassador said that it was as foolish as it was pernicious. In the mean time, however, Blackwell's fall was a serious calamity to the Catholic body, to whom the Jesuits rendered valuable service in these painful and difficult circumstances. From the first Father Holtby, who had succeeded Father Garnett as Superior of the English Jesuits, showed great firmness and prudence in withstanding the archpriest, whose example was unfortunately followed by a certain number of priests and laymen. He was ably seconded in his endeavours by Father William Wright, an eminent theologian, and an intimate friend of the Emperor Ferdinand II. He arrived in England in 1606, and found the Catholics greatly troubled by the fall of the archpriest, while the king was triumphant, and boasted that all the rest would speedily follow his example. Soon after his arrival Father Wright was arrested, and one of the first questions put to him regarded the oath of allegiance. The Catholics, whose ideas had been confused by Blackwell's pernicious teaching, awaited his reply with intense anxiety, ready to adopt the view taken by one whose reputation for learning and holiness was so great. As may be supposed, the father distinctly refused to take the oath, and he proved his reasons for doing so with so much clearness that the evil effects of Blackwell's fall were to some extent annulled. The Catho-

lics, who had contended that the oath did violence to their conscience, were fortified in their conviction; and numbers of wavering spirits, who, weary of persecution, would gladly have sheltered themselves behind the example of the archpriest, were strengthened to stand firm to their principles.

On the accession of Charles I. in 1625, the oppressive laws passed by former sovereigns in regard to the Catholics remained unrepealed. The king himself was not naturally of a cruel disposition, nor perhaps unfavourably disposed towards his Catholic subjects; but he was weak and irresolute, and by his unwise course of action speedily deprived himself of the power of protecting them against the ill-will of parliament. With his exaggerated ideas of royal prerogative, his obstinate, yet vacillating, character, and the ruinous wars and heavy debt bequeathed to him by his father, Charles I. had a difficult part to play, and he soon found himself at the mercy of the parliament. Among its members were a few men animated by sincere patriotism, and who desired only the restoration of certain lawful rights and liberties; but the greater number belonged to the Puritan party, who united religious fanaticism to hatred of royal authority. These last, with the view of rendering the king unpopular with the masses, brought the charge of Popery against him on every occasion, and asserted, though without the slightest foundation, that the Catholics were gaining power, and that in defiance of the penal laws they held commissions in the army. When, in 1642, the Civil War broke out, the vast majority of the Catholics, unmindful of the merciless cruelty with which they had been treated by his father, and also in some degree by himself, gathered round King Charles, who even then hesitated to avail himself of their services. His adversaries had so persistently represented him as devoted to Popery, that in order to prove his orthodoxy he ordered two priests to be put to death at Tyburn before his departure from London, and two others at York on his arrival in that city. He also refused to intrust with a commission, or even to admit into the ranks of his army, any person who had not taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. But necessity soon taught

him to accept the services of his Catholic subjects, and when the royal standard floated in the field none fought more gallantly in its defence than the descendants of those who for years had been put to death as enemies of the Crown. One of the pretences put forward by the parliament for opposing the king had been the tyrannical oppression of conscience to which they declared that they had been subjected. Yet no sooner had they overthrown the monarchy than, forgetful of their former views of toleration, they, in their turn, hastened to oppress and plunder the Catholics. Under pretence that the war had been brought on by Popish intrigues, they declared that two-thirds of the whole estate, both real and personal, of every Papist should be sold for the benefit of the nation. By Papist they understood all persons who, within a certain period, had sheltered any priest, had attended Mass, sent their children for education abroad, or refused to take the oath of abjuration, an oath recently framed, by which the chief articles of Catholic belief were specifically renounced.

In 1647, King Charles fell into the hands of his enemies, and two years later he was beheaded at Whitehall, atoning for the faults of his political career by the dignity, calmness, and Christian resignation of his last moments. The monarchy was then abolished, the Commonwealth declared, with Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector, and, under the new government, the condition of Catholics became worse than ever. In 1650 a bill was passed offering to the discoverers of priests and Jesuits the same reward as to the apprehenders of highwaymen; at the same time the ordinances for sequestration and forfeiture were executed with unrelenting severity, and numbers of servants, tradesmen, and mechanics were, upon their refusal to take the oath of abjuration, deprived of two-thirds of their scanty earnings, even of their household goods and wearing-apparel.

In 1651, Charles II. made a fruitless attempt to regain his father's crown, but at the battle of Worcester his troops were defeated, and he only owed his safety to his Catholic subjects, the Penderells of Boscobel; with their assistance, and that of

Mr. Whitgreave of Moseley and his chaplain, the Benedictine Huddleston, the fugitive king escaped to France. It may be seen that under the government of Father Vitelleschi, as under that of Father Aquaviva, English martyrs continued to pour forth their blood for the faith, and among them the sons of St. Ignatius hold a distinguished place.

In 1623 the English mission of the Society was, in consequence of the rapid increase of English Jesuits, who now numbered 248, made into a separate Province, under the government of Father Richard Blount, whose task it was to organize and consolidate what Campion and Parsons had founded. He was well fitted for his difficult mission, and his contemporaries speak enthusiastically of his gentleness and kindness, his firmness and courage, combined with singular prudence, and with an interior spirit that caused it to be said of him that it was by prayer he governed his Province.

During his early missionary days Father Blount had his full share of hairbreadth adventures, but when he became Provincial caution was felt to be an absolute duty, which he owed to those who depended upon him for advice and guidance. Though he was for more than twenty years Superior of the Jesuits in England, yet so carefully was his secret guarded, that we are in ignorance of his abode during that period. For fifteen years he kept out of sight of the domestics in the house where he was concealed, and when business took him abroad he left the house and returned to it at night. Towards the end of his life, however, he obtained a royal pardon for the offence of being a priest, and the king's permission to live unmolested wherever he pleased. This extraordinary and unique privilege was due in some measure to the esteem inspired by Father Blount's personal character, but chiefly to the fact that upon one occasion he gave the king warning of the threats used against him by a dangerous fanatic, and James retained a kindly recollection of him ever afterwards.

One of the first acts of Father Blount on being named Provincial was to divide the Province committed to his charge into twelve districts, or *ideal* colleges, as it was impossible to form

regular colleges. 'To each of these he allotted some revenue which might form the nucleus of a future college, in the much-desired event of the restoration of the ancient faith in England. To each district a certain number of missioners was allotted, governed by rectors, who were appointed by the Father General.'* Thus we have the *ideal* College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire district; St. Ignatius, or the London district; St. Francis Xavier, or the South Wales district; St. Chad, or the Staffordshire district; the Immaculate Conception, or the Derbyshire district; the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk district; St. Hugh, or the Lincolnshire district.

The letters of Father Blount to Father Parsons give interesting accounts of the labours of the Jesuits scattered throughout these different districts; in the course of a single year (1623), when there was a slight lull in the persecution, 2600 persons were received into the Church by members of the Society. Father Henry More, the historian, has likewise left a touching picture of the condition of English Jesuits in these troubled times; he divides them into three classes: those who led a hidden life always in the same house; those who went about from place to place; and those who, owing to some extraordinary circumstance, enjoyed a trifle more liberty than their brethren. The fathers belonging to the first category lived in the attics of houses, far removed from the observation of visitors or domestics, in almost unbroken silence and solitude; those who travelled from place to place had constantly to change their dress and name, and to resort to a thousand stratagems and expedients as they went from house to house administering the Sacraments; while the missionaries belonging to the third class, and who were by far the least numerous, were those who, owing to the high rank of their host, or the favourable disposition of their neighbours, were enabled to exercise their ministry with caution, it is true, yet in comparative safety. Such was the condition of Father Blount after the pardon accorded to him by King James.

The second year of Father Blount's government as Pro-

* *Records of the English Province*, by H. Foley: Series II.

vincial was marked by the holy death of Father John Benett, the apostle of Wales. He was educated at Douay, and laboured for some years as a secular priest in his native county of Flint. In 1582, however, he was arrested and confined, first in Flint and then in Ludlow Castle, where he was cruelly racked, once for nine consecutive hours, to make him betray those whom he had reconciled to the Church. Finding that nothing could be extracted from him, his torturers sent him to London, and after a further imprisonment he was banished to France, with thirty other priests. Father Benett then proceeded to Verdun, where he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus; and two years later, at his earnest desire, his Superiors sent him back to Wales, where he laboured for thirty-five years.

When, in 1625, a terrible pestilence broke out in London, he obtained permission to devote himself to the unhappy sufferers, and died a martyr of charity on the Christmas-day of that same year. A short time previously, about 1621, the English Jesuits had begun a work of singular boldness: in the very teeth of their persecutors they had founded a novitiate of the Order in London; it was first established at Edmonton, then at Camberwell, and lastly in a house belonging to Lord Shrewsbury at Clerkenwell. Although for a few years it escaped observation, it was next to impossible that it should do so always; attention was excited by the provisions being carried into the house, and a domiciliary visit speedily followed in March 1628. Father Banks, the rector, and six other fathers, were taken prisoners, but they suffered no worse fate than the confiscation of their property; the novitiate numbered at that moment eighteen novices, fourteen of whom were priests. That same year (1628) witnessed the glorious death of Father Edmund Arrowsmith. He was a native of Lancashire, and grew up in the midst of Catholic traditions. His great-grandfather had died in prison for the faith; his mother's father, Nicolas Gerard, when suffering from the gout, had been forcibly carried to the Protestant church, where, instead of joining in the service, he sang psalms in Latin with so loud a voice that the parson could not be heard; while the martyr's own parents,

Robert and Margery Arrowsmith, were carried off one night to Lancaster gaol on suspicion of having sheltered a priest. Edmund was educated at Douay, and ordained a priest at Arras in 1612, after which he was sent on the English mission. In 1624 he joined the Society of Jesus, but owing to the troubled state of the times, which rendered it difficult for priests to leave or return to England, he was not sent abroad for his novitiate, and instead he retired for a few months into Essex to make a spiritual retreat. The traditional holy peace of a novitiate, so dearly prized by those who embrace the religious life, and ever cherished by them as a most precious recollection, was little known to many English Jesuits at this period. Some amongst them, it is true, were trained 'beyond the seas,' and in the studious calm of Rome or Louvain fitted themselves for the dangers and sufferings of England; but the noviceship of Father Blount was spent amidst the perils that daily threatened the hunted priest; that of Thomas Pounde in the solitude of life-long captivity; and of Edmund Arrowsmith in the fatigues of a missionary life, broken only by the brief interval of his spiritual retreat.

Father Arrowsmith continued to labour on the Lancashire mission for five years after his admission into the Society. He was celebrated as a controversialist, and his successful discussions with the Protestant Bishop of Chester excited the admiration even of Protestants. In 1628 he was arrested and conveyed to Lancaster, where his trial, for the crime of his priesthood and for his refusal to take the oath of supremacy, was conducted with peculiar brutality by the judge, Sir Henry Yelverton. The insults with which the prisoner was loaded during the trial, the judge's childish spirit of revenge, and evident terror lest his prey should escape him, made the martyr smile, for which he was reproved as a 'saucy fellow.' No charge was brought against him except that he was a Catholic priest; but though this fact could only be proved by slender and insufficient evidence, he was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced in the usual form to be hanged till he was half dead, dismembered while still alive, and quartered. On hear-

ing the terrible sentence the father fell on his knees and joyfully exclaimed, 'Deo gratias!'

He spent the two days between his condemnation and his death in a small dark dungeon, where he could not lie down, his hands and feet laden with heavy chains; his friends were not admitted, but a parson, Mr. Lee, was sent to argue with him. The felons and criminals who filled Lancaster gaol judged the captive Jesuit more justly than did the representatives of government; and when they heard that one so holy and so gentle was condemned to a traitor's death, their cries of indignation were so loud as to be heard at a considerable distance. Another proof of the deep impression that existed of the martyr's sanctity was that no man in Lancaster could be found to act as executioner; in vain condemned felons were offered their lives if they would undertake the office; all refused. A butcher, ashamed to do it himself, engaged that his servant should act as hangman for 5*l.*; but the servant, on hearing of the contract, fled from the town. At length a deserter, under sentence of death, agreed to be executioner if he were given his liberty and a certain sum.

On Thursday, August 28th, the holy prisoner was led forth. As he passed through the castle-gates Mr. Southworth, a captive priest, gave him absolution from a window above, and a Catholic gentleman, whose name is unknown, came forward and embraced him. His old adversary, Mr. Lee, met him at the gallows, which stood about a quarter of a mile from the castle, and endeavoured to shake his constancy by pointing out to him the rope, the butcher's knife, and the steaming caldron; but Father Arrowsmith, with a smiling countenance, continued to repeat pious invocations. When he had ascended the ladder he desired all the Catholics present to pray for him, and his words must have found a ready response in many faithful hearts among the vast multitude. He then prayed for the king, protested that he died a 'steadfast Roman Catholic,' and expressed the hope that his death, far from being a cause of sadness, might encourage the Catholics to remain faithful to their religion. As he was turned off the ladder he repeated,

'Bone Jesu;' and with this sacred name on his lips his happy soul winged its flight to paradise.

Sir Henry Yelverton, who had watched the execution through glasses, and who afterwards vented his savage rage on the martyr's mutilated remains, died suddenly some months later; he was sitting at supper, when he felt two blows on the head from an invisible hand, and he expired the next morning, exclaiming, 'That dog Arrowsmith has killed me!'

It has been seen, under Father Aquaviva, how six members of the Walpole family entered the Society. The most celebrated was Father Henry, the martyr; but his brothers and cousins rendered valuable service to religion, both on the English mission and in the Jesuit colleges abroad. Like the Walpoles, the Worthingtons gave several members to the Order of Jesus. In 1584, Thomas Worthington, then a secular priest, but who afterwards entered the Society, resolved to take his four young nephews to France to give them a Catholic education, but his design was discovered and he was arrested in London. The four boys, the eldest of whom was only sixteen, were separately interrogated by the Earl of Derby, the Protestant Bishop of Chester, and several parsons, and during some months every argument was used to induce them to renounce their faith. At length the two eldest were cruelly scourged; but instead of being intimidated by this harsh treatment, the younger children declared that they were ready to endure the same rather than abandon their religion. A little later, however, with the aid of some Catholic friends, the youths made their escape, and reached France in safety.

The future career of these brave boys was worthy of their early profession of faith. Lawrence, the eldest of the four, entered the Society, and after labouring for some years on the English mission was in 1615 thrown into the Gatehouse prison, where, with some difficulty, he persuaded the authorities to allow that his Catholic fellow-prisoners, among whom were several priests, should be imprisoned in the same room as himself. Letters written by Father Worthington and by Father Francis Young, his fellow-captive and intimate friend, give an interesting descrip-

tion of the spiritual consolations then enjoyed by the Gatehouse prisoners. They had every day two or three, and sometimes six or seven, Masses, and Catholics from different parts of London came, in spite of dangers and difficulties, to visit the captive priests and receive the Sacraments at their hands. John Worthington, younger brother to Father Lawrence, entered the Society in 1598, and was for some time Rector of the ideal College of St. Aloysius, or Lancashire district. During the Civil War he fell into the hands of the parliamentary troops, who broke into the house where he generally resided, and, having dragged the relics, pictures, and crucifixes from their hiding-places, turned them into objects of ridicule and mockery. In a narrative of his captivity, written by command of his Provincial, Father Worthington relates how he was moved to the neighbouring town. 'The whole of the way they carried before me the image of our Lord Jesus crucified. I rode upon a sorry beast, without boots or spurs, but still I kept giving it my heels with such continual motion that it must have been evident to all that I was not only content, but full of joy, in following so nearly my Lord and Master on the crucifix.' Then followed a long period of solitary confinement, of which the father says: 'In this state of solitude and weary imprisonment I never was more full of peace, or found the words more true, "I am with him in tribulation." So that not even in my novitiate at St. Andrea, under Father Fabio de' Fabii, nor in the Roman College, under Father Benedict Justinian, did I enjoy greater happiness or feel more sensible consolation from heaven.' Father Worthington died a prisoner in 1648, at the age of seventy.

Among the members of the Society who, in the midst of constant labours and perils, found time to defend the faith by their controversial writings, must be mentioned Father Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, who, when a youth, formed part of the Catholic association of young men, founded by George Gilbert, for the assistance of the missionaries. His zeal in the cause so far excited the anger of the government, that he retired to France with his wife and children; but continued, as in England, to assist his persecuted brethren. After his wife's

death he entered the Society, and died at the age of eighty-eight, Rector of the English College at Rome. Father Fitzherbert was singularly loved and reverenced by the Catholics of the day, his sanctity, generosity, and noble character being equalled only by his ability as a controversial writer. No less remarkable was Father Francis Walsingham, who, in a treatise called *The Search made into Matters of Religion*, has related the train of thoughts and circumstances that led him to the true faith, and how his belief in Protestantism was shaken by the refusals of the Protestants to have public disputations on religion; of this Father Parsons, 'the prince of controversialists,' likewise complained.

Before coming to a decision Francis Walsingham consulted several divines, and even referred his doubts to the king, as head of the Church; but the books that were given to him to strengthen his allegiance to the Anglican faith produced the opposite effect, and disgusted him by their exaggerated abuse of the Catholics and the Jesuits. After months of deep reading and much interior suffering, Francis Walsingham met with 'a certain old man of the Roman religion,' to whom he confided his perplexity. He was at first reproved by him for using the word Papist, but so eager was the earnest young Protestant to have his new friend's opinion on graver matters, that he yielded the point without difficulty. The old man satisfactorily explained away most of his doubts, and prescribed to him a course of reading that completely dispelled the rest; he then advised him to make a spiritual retreat, and, Walsingham being profoundly ignorant of such things, he explained to him with admirable clearness how to set about it. At first the young convert found this retreat intensely wearisome, but he ended by experiencing such happiness that he says: 'I neither needed nor desired more company, but thought myself most happy when I was most alone.' He was then received into the Church, and a few years later he entered the Society of Jesus. During the thirty-three years he laboured on the English mission Father Walsingham was in continual danger of falling into the hands of the pursuivants, and some of his escapes were

regarded by English Catholics as undoubted miracles. Besides his chief work, *The Search into Matters of Religion*, he published another book, *Reasons for Embracing the Catholic Faith*, which brought many persons into the Church. Having passed himself through the ordeal of religious doubt, he was peculiarly fitted to assist those who were enduring a similar trial, and to rare argumentative power he united great sweetness of manner, and a gentleness described by his contemporaries as 'dove-like.'

It is instructive to note the varied means by which Providence drew souls back to the ancient faith in those dark and troubled times. A long course of study and prayer converted Francis Walsingham, while a mysterious vision led Father John Blackfan to the Church. One night our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him as a judge, and this vision led him to reflect deeply on his position, and eventually to decide upon becoming a Catholic. Six months passed by, however, before he could meet with any Catholics. 'At length,' as is related by Father More in his history of the English Province, 'a respectable man one day met him, and asked him whether he wished to hold familiar intercourse with a priest. "Most willingly I would do so," he said, "but I fear none is to be found, so many having been made away with in these years." "Fear not," he said; "I will shortly teach you where you may meet with one." Returning after an interval of a few days, "Go," he said, "to such a wood, and the person you desire will meet you." He went accordingly to the wood, and there met with an old priest of the time of Queen Mary, who, after a short conversation, first of all absolved him from excommunication, using the solemn rites of the Church, even to the striking of his bare shoulders with the twig of a tree during the time of his reciting the Psalm *Miserere*.'

Father Blackfan subsequently entered the Society of Jesus, and spent some time in Spain, where he was the confessor of Doña Luisa de Carvajal, whom he accompanied in her journey to England.

More than twelve years had elapsed since the martyrdom

of Father Arrowsmith, and though many members of the Society had suffered persecution, none had actually been put to death for the faith, when in 1640 came a decided increase of severity on the part of the government. In proportion as the parliamentary, or republican, party increased in power their hatred towards Catholics became more intense, and the *Annual Letters* of the Society give a graphic picture of the hardships and sufferings of the missionaries at this period. Among the Jesuit martyrs who gained a glorious palm was Father Thomas Holland, who, when a student at the English College at Valladolid, was selected to harangue the Prince of Wales when he visited Spain on the occasion of his proposed marriage with the infanta. He was sent on the mission in 1635, and seven years later was arrested, tried for his priesthood, found guilty, and sentenced to die at Tyburn. During the time that elapsed between his condemnation and his death the martyr's prison was visited by crowds of persons—English, Dutch, Spaniards, and French—all of whom he welcomed in their own language with perfect tranquillity and cheerfulness; and the Spanish ambassador having begged his prayers for his royal master, Father Holland promised that the Mass he said on the morning of his execution should be offered for this intention. On the 12th of December the blessed confessor was led to Tyburn, and there amidst an immense crowd of witnesses he won the martyr's crown.

A similar concourse of spectators attended the execution of Father Ralph Corby two years later. The day before his death his prison was thronged with persons eager to obtain a last blessing; the French ambassador came to him to make his confession, and the Duchesse de Guise to receive Communion at his hands; and when the next day (7th of September) he was taken from Newgate to Tyburn, numbers of Catholics came forward to bid him adieu.

Mr. Duckett, a young secular priest, was executed at the same time as Father Corby, and with them were five malefactors, one of whom had been converted by the father, and made a profession of faith on the scaffold, 'regretting very

much he had known it so late.' The two priests affectionately embraced one another, and a few moments later they were again united beyond the reach of suffering and of pain.

Only five months later Tyburn witnessed the death of another Jesuit, Father Henry Morse, who had made his novitiate some years before in the gaol of Newcastle, under the direction of a Jesuit father, his fellow-captive. He was subsequently released, and during the terrible pestilence that raged in London in 1636 he daily visited four hundred poor families, and, by his heroic charity, brought many Protestants into the Church. He himself caught the disease three times, but the same Providence that had guided him through so many perils reserved him for an equally glorious but more painful death. Shortly after these generous labours he was again arrested, tried, and condemned for his priesthood, but, at the intercession of the queen, his life was spared and he was banished from the kingdom. His entreaties, however, prevailed with his Superiors, and in 1643, for the third time, he was sent on the mission. This time a secret warning seemed to tell him that the palm for which he thirsted would at last be his, and before leaving Ghent he joyfully told his brethren that he was going to die for his faith.

A little more than a year after his arrival he fell into the hands of the soldiers, was conveyed to London and imprisoned in Newgate, and on its being proved that he was the same person who had been condemned before, he was sentenced without further trial.

On the 1st of February, the day fixed for the execution, Father Morse said a Mass of thanksgiving, and when the time came to set out for Tyburn he exclaimed in a transport of joy: 'Come, my sweetest Jesus, that I may now be inseparably united to Thee in time and eternity! Welcome ropes, hurdles, gibbets, knives, and butchery! Welcome for the sake of Jesus, my Saviour!'

On his way to execution the hurdle on which he lay was met by the carriage of the French ambassador, who reverently begged for his blessing and followed him to Tyburn; the

Spanish ambassador, Count Egmont, who had an extraordinary devotion for the English martyrs, was also present. Father Morse addressed a few words to the people, after which, with the words, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' still on his lips, he was thrown off the ladder.

As has been stated, the condition of Catholics during the Civil War was painful in the extreme. On the one hand they were exposed to the lawlessness of the rabble, who, taking advantage of the general confusion, pillaged their houses and sometimes completely destroyed them; on the other, the Puritans, who reigned supreme in the parliament, enforced the penal laws passed against them in the preceding reigns, and in consequence the public gaols were filled to overflowing with confessors of the faith. On Christmas-day, 1650, the residence of the French ambassador was broken open by a lawless band of soldiers, and the Catholics assembled in his chapel were arrested; and a few days later the house of the Spanish envoy was attacked in the same manner, and the crucifixes and holy images were carried off. A month afterwards a Jesuit, Father Peter Wright, was discovered in the house of the Marquis of Winchester, committed to Newgate, brought to trial, and condemned to death for his priesthood in the usual form. The Catholics of London heard the sentence with dismay, for the father's unusual sanctity had gained for him universal respect and love; during the few days that elapsed between his condemnation and his death they came in crowds to receive a last blessing, and many Protestants who mingled with them retired much impressed by his cheerfulness and evident joy.

On the morning of the 29th of May the martyr said his last Mass, and when the sheriffs came to summon him he exclaimed: 'I come, sweet Jesus, I come!' The account of Father Wright's progress from the prison to the gallows has been left to us by Father Courtney, a Jesuit who was present; and it possesses peculiar interest, as there is perhaps no other instance of an execution at which the Catholics attended so freely and in such numbers, or where the victim was treated with such an amount of respect. This is all the more singular as the execution took

place at a moment when men's passions were greatly excited, and it must therefore be attributed to the reputation of holiness that Father Wright had won even among his enemies.

It was a beautiful spring morning, and the sun was shining brightly when the martyr was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn. Instead of being, as usual, bound to the hurdle, he was allowed to sit up, and he looked around him 'with a smiling face and beaming eyes;' then came carts and coaches filled with criminals who were to be executed at the same time, while in the streets, at the windows, and even upon the roofs was a multitude so great 'that the oldest man could scarcely recollect its like.' Catholics had poured in from the neighbouring country to witness the martyr's triumph, so that 'on whatever side he chanced to look his eye rested on some penitent or friend.' Many came up to the hurdle and kissed his hand; others knelt for his blessing, which he gave in a loud clear voice; and one lady brought some yards of woven silk, which she asked him to bless, and then divided into fragments and distributed to the bystanders. The persecuted Catholics seemed for that day to have laid aside all fear of discovery, and, strange to say, those who guarded the prisoner did not prevent them from approaching him. In fact, says Father Courtney, his progress resembled that of a conqueror, and 'he was drawn like a triumphal victor to Tyburn, the Calvary of England, deeply dyed with the blood that for more than a century had been offered by holy priests.'

Thousands of persons had assembled round the gallows, and no less than two hundred horsemen and five hundred carriages were there. 'The neighbouring deer-enclosure' (Hyde Park) 'waved to and fro with a dense mass of living souls.' Many persons had even climbed the trees in order to have a better sight.

On reaching Tyburn, the martyr was assisted off the hurdle by a brother Jesuit, Father Edward Latham, who, disguised as a labourer, had forced his way through the crowd. So perfect, indeed, was his disguise, that one of the officers struck him a smart blow, saying, 'Be off, you troublesome hodman; what do you mean by annoying a dying man?' Though thus roughly

parted from Father Latham, Father Wright was not left alone in his agony; for, according to a preconcerted arrangement, another Jesuit had taken up his position on the hood of a coach close by, ready at a given signal to pronounce the words of absolution. Thirteen criminals were executed before the confessor, who, when his turn came, made a brief speech, which was listened to by the multitude with a death-like stillness. In a few words he confessed his faith, adding that he was a priest and a Jesuit, and that his only crime was having performed the duties of his calling—duties that had been his greatest happiness in life. He said that he thanked God for his 'blessed lot,' and that he earnestly begged the prayers of all Catholics present. At the moment when the cart was drawn away he raised his hand as a signal for the last absolution, which was duly imparted to him.

Contrary to the usual custom, Father Wright was hanged with his face uncovered, and all present were struck with the calmness and heavenly beauty of his countenance, unchanged in death. When the sheriff saw that he was really dead, he demanded, with a humanity wholly unheard of, if there were any friends or relatives of the 'noble gentleman' present; and, numbers having then come forward, 'Take,' he said, 'the head and the members, and bury them with all the honour you wish.' This was the first time since the Reformation that the Catholics had been allowed to carry away the relics of their martyred priests.

So impressed were the Protestants themselves by the holy death of Father Wright, that a weekly gazette in London spoke of him as 'an excellent man, of firm and undaunted courage.'

A few years more, and we shall again follow the footsteps of martyred Jesuits to the spot so fitly named 'the Calvary of England.' The Commonwealth was drawing to an end, and the Stuart kings were about to ascend the throne once more; but heavy and gloomy times were still to come for the English Province of the Society of Jesus.

While the Jesuits in England were shedding their blood for

the faith, their fellow-religious in Ireland were enduring persecutions as cruel with similar devotion and constancy.

In Ireland the penal laws issued against Catholics under Elizabeth had only been put into execution in the garrison towns, where they were carried out by the military force; and upon the queen's death the Catholic worship was publicly restored in many large towns, and a petition addressed to James I. to demand the free exercise of the Catholic religion; but the request was peremptorily refused, and the barbarous laws of confiscation, taxation, and death were enforced in all their severity. Under Charles I., the Irish chieftains formed a confederacy, for the purpose of defending their national and religious liberties. They entered into negotiations with the king, who was then at war with the parliament, and offered him their services, on the sole condition of his granting a free exercise of their religion to his Irish subjects; but Charles feared to irritate his Protestant adherents by accepting their offer, and for this reason the negotiations failed. In 1649, Cromwell landed in Ireland; and under his iron rule commenced, for the Irish Catholics, a period of untold suffering. At the taking of Drogheda a thousand persons were massacred in the great church; at Wexford over two thousand perished, many of whom were women and children; and after Cromwell's return to England, his lieutenants pursued his bloody undertaking, and similar scenes of horror were enacted all over the unhappy country. Thousands of persons, expelled from their homes, were driven on board ship and conveyed to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves. 'In fact,' says Lingard, 'a measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilised nations.'* Under Charles II. the Irish Catholics in vain demanded redress; Protestant bigotry was stronger than justice, and the temporary improvement brought by the accession of James II. was speedily forgotten under his successor, who revived the penal laws in all their cruelty.

Scanty details have reached us regarding the members of

* Lingard, vol. ix. chap. i.

the Society in Ireland during these years of barbarous oppression. The Irish mission began to be regularly supplied with fathers under St. Francis Borgia; but until 1620 they were generally attached to the houses of the nobility. After that period they had residences of their own, and in the course of a few years they possessed eight colleges and residences. A novitiate was erected at Kilkenny in 1645 by Lady Elizabeth Nugent, Countess of Kildare, surnamed the 'Mother of the Society in Ireland.' It flourished for four years under the rule of Father John Young; in 1649 it had to be removed to Galway; and a few months later it was broken up, and the novices were sent abroad.

After the terrible Cromwellian persecution, during which all the Jesuit houses were destroyed, the majority of Irish fathers were drafted into other provinces. A few continued, however, to labour on the mission until 1773. Thus in 1713 we learn, from a letter of Father Knowles, their Superior, that there were eleven Jesuits in Ireland, all of whom were obliged to exercise their ministry in secret, as no priest could be seen in public.

Among the missionaries whose names deserve to be recorded are Father Edmund Donelly, who was sent to Ireland by Gregory XIII., and, having been arrested soon after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Cork in January 1581; Father Collins, who was also executed at Cork in 1602; Father Kearney, whose influence was such that, when persecution was its height, the judges of assizes declared in open court that he did more to prevent robbery than all the terrors of the law; Father Henry Fitzsimon, a pupil of the famous Lessius, who, after spending five years in prison, was banished on the accession of James I. He afterwards returned, but was actively pursued by the priest-hunters; and during the winter of 1642 he had to take refuge in a wretched hut in a swamp, where the sufferings he endured shortened his days. Father Fitzsimon was remarkable not only for his fearless courage, but for his ability as a controversial writer. Father Christopher Netterville, son of the first Viscount Netterville, was obliged, during the Cromwellian reign of terror, to conceal himself for over a

year in his father's sepulchre. Father Robert Netterville, a venerable old man, was dragged from his bed by the parliamentary troops, and beaten with such violence that he died four days afterwards, 1649. The following year, 1650, Father Dillon, son of the Earl of Roscommon, died at Waterford while attending upon the sick during the plague. The hairbreadth escapes of some of the missionaries have all the interest of a romance. Thus Father Stephen Gelosse was actively pursued by Cromwell's soldiers, and, to escape them, adopted every variety of disguise. He alternately personated a dealer of fagots, a servant, a thatcher, a tailor, a carpenter, a beggar, a porter, a gardener, a pedlar, and a seller of rabbit-skins. Cromwell had issued a proclamation to his troops, stating that any person harbouring a priest should be hanged before his own door, and all his property confiscated, and that the captors of a priest should receive the same sum as was formerly paid to the wolf-destroyers. Father Gelosse, however, successfully escaped the vigilance of his enemies; and, after the accession of Charles II., he set up a school at Ross, which soon became prosperous; but in 1670 it had to be broken up.

In 1673, Father Ignatius Brown, a remarkable preacher and writer, who had been for some time Superior in Ireland, founded a house of studies for Irish Jesuits at Poitiers. It was established chiefly through the influence of Father Ferrier, confessor of Louis XIV., and Queen Catherine of Braganza was its principal benefactress.

To the names just recorded must be added those of Father John Carolan, who was literally hunted to death by the pursuivants, and died of hunger and fatigue; Father Maurice O'Connell, who, for his wonderful apostolic labours, was surnamed the Thaumaturgus of Ireland; and Father Dermot Cronin, who had charge of a parish near Drogheda, where, on account of his extreme poverty, he had to wander about 'in sheepskins and goatskins.'

While the members of the Society in Ireland were endeavouring amidst untold sufferings to preserve the faith in the hearts of the people, the Scotch Jesuits, like their English and

Irish brethren, were going through the fiery ordeal of persecution. Several colleges had been established on the Continent for the education of Scotch missionaries; the Scotch College in Rome was founded in 1600 by Pope Clement VIII., and committed in 1615 to the direction of the Jesuits; the Scotch College at Madrid, founded by Philip III., and also governed by the Jesuits, was in 1732 transferred to Douay, where it remained until suppressed by the French Government thirty-two years later; the fathers then retired to Dinant in Belgium, where they continued till the suppression of the Society. The Scotch College in Paris was established by Mary Queen of Scots in 1580, and removed to Douay in 1594, where it flourished under the direction of the Society till 1765. James Cheyne, a priest from Scotland, likewise founded a college for his countrymen at Pont-à-Mousson; Father Holtby, a Jesuit, was its rector in 1587.

The most illustrious pupil of the Scotch College of Douay was Father John Ogilvy, the martyr. He arrived at Glasgow in October 1614, and soon afterwards was betrayed into the hands of the magistrates, who subjected him to terrible torments in order to induce him to renounce his faith. He was beaten on the head and breast, his hair and beard were torn away, and when broken by the blows inflicted on him he was submitted to long examinations. This treatment threw him at length into a violent fever, and when he had partially recovered he was removed to Edinburgh, where for eight days and nights he was deprived of sleep, executioners being stationed at his side during the whole of that time to prick him continually with sharp iron instruments. He was taken back to Glasgow, and from his prison he wrote to Father Alberi, whom Father Aquaviva had appointed Vicar-General of the Order in his last illness; the letter was written on the 22d of February 1615, and concludes thus: 'Dated from my prison at Glasgow, where I lie under the load of two hundredweight of irons, looking for death, unless I accept the proffered favour of the king—that is a rich preferment and another religion. Once I have sustained the torture of being kept without sleep for nine nights and eight

days, and now I expect two other tortures and then death.' On the 10th of March following, the holy confessor gained the crown of martyrdom.

When the account of his glorious death reached the Scotch College at Douay, it was read in the refectory amidst the tears of the community, and among the students most affected by the news was Hippolitus Curle, son of Gilbert Curle, secretary to Mary Stuart. This youth shortly afterwards entered the Society, in the hopes of gaining a similar crown; but he was destined to serve the Order in a different manner, and subsequently became Rector of the College of Douay.

One of the most celebrated Scotch missionaries of the time was Father Patrick Anderson, who in his apostolic wanderings through the Highlands and Lowlands suffered incredible privations and fatigues. His letters to the Father General Vitelleschi are full of interesting information regarding the mission; he speaks thus of the fidelity of the Catholics to their faith: 'Though so great is the severity of the persecution to which I have thus briefly alluded, so great is the steadfastness of the Catholics, so large their number, and so great the eagerness of their souls to approach the divine mysteries, that they seem to have inherited the fervour of the primitive Christians.' Father Anderson was arrested in the midst of his labours and confined in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh. It is evident from the account of his trial that he was highly thought of by his adversaries for his theological learning; indeed his powers of argument, his perfect knowledge of the whole Protestant position, seem to have been equalled only by his ready wit and perfect self-possession. He thus describes to the Father General his feelings after his apprehension: 'I collected myself, fell on my knees, and, overwhelmed with joy and tears, I gave thanks to my sweetest Jesus that He had granted to me not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for His Name from the enemies of the Holy Catholic Church, and humbly begged the Eternal Father, through the Precious Blood of Jesus, that He would grant me speech and wisdom which my enemies could not resist.' The memory of his absent brethren seems to have consoled him, for

he adds, 'Often and often did I think of the holy lives and conversation of many of our fathers with whom I used to be so intimate, and the example of whose virtues I quietly stored up in my memory.' A touch of humour often mingled with Father Anderson's sound controversial arguments during his trial; one of the bishops present having attacked Bellarmine, Father Anderson replied, 'Bellarmine shows his wisdom in remaining in Rome and not coming to these parts. If you are so severe on him when absent, what would you not do to him if you could catch him!' The father was eventually released through the intervention of the French ambassador; he died in London in 1624.*

The letters of Father William Lesley, who was Superior of the Scotch Jesuits, in 1628, give an account of the system of persecution against the Catholics. Charles I. ordered that all persons who refused to attend the services of the Established Church should be *excommunicated;* which meant treated as rebels, and ejected from their houses. In 1630 it was decreed that all Catholics who had appeared before the Privy Council for refusing to attend the services should be sentenced to perpetual banishment, and only allowed to retain one-third of their incomes. Ten years later, in 1640, Father James Mambrecht, another Jesuit missionary, completed the picture: 'Within the last eleven days orders have been published throughout Scotland not to sell anything to Catholics, or to buy anything of them. Many are already deprived of their rents and incomes. Several Catholics have offered three-fourths of their property, provided they may keep the remaining fourth for the maintenance of themselves and their families, and even this is refused. . . . Such and so general a persecution I have never yet seen, nor has any Catholic, since the true faith was first banished from this kingdom. I am the only one left in the south part of Scotland, but as long as I am able to stay I have decided, with the help of God, to remain, whilst I have a place where to lay my head, though my lot must be extreme misery and perpetual danger. God grant that I may save even one soul from

* *The Month*, Dec. 1876, July 1877.

shipwreck; and may good Jesus show me what things I may suffer for His Name. O, how I wish that I could die for Him!' In another letter, Father Lesley mentions that, though he was Superior of the Scotch Jesuits, he had not been able, for the space of two years, to visit the fathers in the north, even by letter, such was the severity of the persecution. He was at last arrested and imprisoned at Edinburgh for eleven months, after which he was banished. Father Gall, another father, writing in 1647, thus describes the condition of his fellow-religious: 'They can hardly abide for two days together in the houses of Catholics; their usual lot is to wander in solitudes, and in the caverns of the earth, to endure hunger and thirst; but they rejoice, notwithstanding, to be accounted worthy to suffer these inconveniences for the Name of Jesus.'

CHAPTER XIX.

Missions of the Society under Father Vitelleschi.

CHINA, INDIA, AMERICA.

It has been seen how, under the government of Father Aquaviva, Father Ricci, by the combined influence of science and holiness, and by dint of unwearied patience, obtained an entrance into the hitherto inaccessible empire of China. The Christian religion was gradually spreading through those vast regions, in spite of the difficulties which the argumentative minds of the people and their deep-rooted attachment to national customs and practices opposed to its progress. These difficulties rendered it essential that the missionaries despatched to China should be men of remarkable prudence and science, fitted to cope with the suspicious jealousy of the authorities, and the subtle disputative tendencies of the mandarins. They had to be ready to submit to tedious forms and ceremonies in their intercourse with the literates; the extraordinary importance attached by the Chinese to these marks of politeness would have prevented them from respecting those by whom they were neglected. Thus the missionaries were obliged to accept certain honours, apparently at variance with the humility of their vocation, but which in reality were only sources of mortification.

Two years after the death of Father Ricci, in 1620, the Emperor Van-Lié followed him to the grave, his last moments embittered by the invasion of the Tartars, who defeated his army and ravaged his dominions. He was succeeded by his grandson, Tien-Ki, who for a time successfully repulsed the efforts of the invaders; but in a few years they returned victorious, and placed a Tartar dynasty on the imperial throne.

While these events were passing, the Jesuits continued to

send missionaries to China, regardless of the perils awaiting them. A letter written in 1635 to the Father General by Father Manuel Diaz, who spent fifty years on the mission, contains the following passage: 'It is no rare occurrence that about half the missionaries who leave Europe die on the way out; it would therefore be well to send off twenty every year, in order that we may be able to count upon ten.'* Sometimes it happened that those who had successfully resisted the privations and fatigues of the journey perished in sight of the land they had come to evangelize; thus, in 1646, three Portuguese fathers, bound for China, were wrecked off the island of Sancian. The sailors threw themselves into a boat and called to the fathers to come with them, but they refused to abandon the passengers, most of whom were infidels; they hastily instructed and baptized them, ere they all perished together in a watery grave. The prospect of death had, however, so little power to check the ardour of the missionaries, that it occasionally happened that so many volunteered to go that there was no room for them on board the vessels.

Among those who reached China in safety was Father Adam Schall, born at Cologne in 1591, a renowned mathematician and astronomer. Soon after his arrival he was appointed 'President of the Mathematical Tribunal,' and was treated by the Emperor Xum-Chin with a friendship that no stranger had hitherto enjoyed. He was charged by his imperial patron with the reform of the Chinese calendar, and succeeded in obtaining permission to preach the Christian faith throughout the empire and to erect a church at Pekin.

The various political changes that took place in the empire did not destroy the influence enjoyed by Father Schall. Chun-Tchi, the second sovereign of the Tartar race, treated him with the same affectionate familiarity as the last emperor of the previous dynasty. At times he was surprised by the firmness with which the Jesuit refused all the presents offered to him, and still more at the uncompromising frankness with which he rebuked him for his vices; but his friendship in no way altered,

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 176.

and he continued to pay long visits to the father. This familiar intercourse with one of his subjects, and especially with a stranger, was so utterly at variance with the mysterious retirement in which the rulers of China had hitherto lived that it greatly contributed to increase the respect with which the Jesuits were regarded. It was the custom in China that when the emperor had occupied a seat in the house of one of his subjects it was immediately covered with yellow, the imperial colour, and no one was allowed to use it. One day, when Chun-Tchi was on a visit to Father Schall, as he sat sometimes on the bed or wherever he happened to find a seat, the father observed, laughing, 'But where does your majesty intend me to sit in future?' 'Wherever you like,' was the reply; 'you and I are not on terms of ceremony.' The almost superstitious importance attached by the Chinese to seemingly trivial customs magnified this incident into an almost unheard-of act of condescension. The conversations between Father Schall and the emperor at first related to the science of astronomy, in which the former was well versed; they would then pass on to religion, and the heathen emperor sincerely admired the beauty and simplicity of the teaching expounded to him; but, as is often the case, he could not summon courage to put its principles into practice. However, he gave the Jesuits full liberty to preach the faith, and at the time of his death, in 1661, the Catholic Church had made extraordinary progress throughout the empire.

At that period the Jesuits possessed one hundred and fifty-one churches and thirty-eight residences in China; the Dominicans, who had entered the empire in 1633, had twenty-one churches and two residences; the Franciscans three churches and one residence. It has been calculated that the Jesuits in China wrote one hundred and thirty-one works on religion, one hundred and three on mathematics, and fifty-five on physical and moral sciences.*

When the revolution, which placed the Tartar dynasty on the imperial throne, occurred in 1644, the Jesuits remained

* Ibid. vol. iii. p. 182.

neutral between the contending parties, and, strangely enough, found favour with both. While Father Schall at Pekin enjoyed the friendship of the Tartar sovereign Chun-Tchi, other Jesuits were attached to the princes of the fallen house, who for some years continued to reign over certain distant provinces of the empire; one of these princes, Jun-Lié, even assumed the title of emperor. His wife was converted by Father Coeffler, an eminent Jesuit missionary; and when in 1650 she gave birth to a son, the emperor allowed him to be baptized, under the name of Constantine. In 1651, the empress, who had taken the name of Helen, addressed to the Pope and to the General of the Society, two long letters, written on a yellow veil, and which Father Boyne, a Polish Jesuit, safely conveyed to Rome. Some years afterwards, Jun-Lié was attacked by his powerful rival; his troops were defeated, and he himself and his son Prince Constantine were massacred by the Tartars. The empress was conveyed a prisoner to Pekin, where, however, Chun-Tchi treated her with due honour, and where she found in the practices of religion ample consolation for the vicissitudes that had made her a childless widow and a dethroned sovereign.

At the death of Chun-Tchi in 1661, the four regents, who were appointed to govern for his infant son Kang-Hi, named Father Schall tutor to the young emperor; but this unusual mark of confidence excited the rage of the bonzes or native priests, and through their manœuvres the father was arrested, loaded with chains, cast into prison, and condemned to be cut to pieces. His great age, however, his immense learning, and the generosity he had shown in his days of prosperity produced an impression on the popular mind; and though he himself was better pleased to confess the faith in chains than he had been to preach it in a palace, the sentence was reversed, and he died peacefully in the arms of his brethren in 1666.

While Father Schall was thus serving the cause of religion at the Court of Pekin, the difficulties of his fellow-labourers in the different provinces of the empire were increased by the discussions that had sprung up on the subject of certain rites

or ceremonies. This question was destined later on to assume larger proportions; but it is necessary to notice here its origin and first development.

The Jesuits, as has been seen, had made an attentive study of the peculiar character of the Chinese, and had come to the conclusion that the chief obstacle preventing them from embracing Christianity was an intense attachment to certain national customs. They deliberated for eighteen years on the matter, and spared neither time nor trouble to arrive at a right decision; indeed, on one occasion, in 1628, several fathers performed journeys of six hundred or eight hundred miles, in order to seek advice on a point that seemed to them doubtful. They further consulted the Bishop of Macao and the theologians in Rome, and finally adopted a rule, which has since been given by the Holy See to Vicars-Apostolic in foreign missions, that the missionaries were not to oblige the people to change their ceremonies, customs, or manners unless these were contrary to religion or to morality. To understand the question fully, it must be mentioned that there existed in China two classes remarkable for their science and culture, the bonzes and the literates. Both classes sometimes practised the same ceremonies, but with different intentions attached to the same outward forms. The bonzes gave them a religious, and consequently an idolatrous, signification; whereas, in the eyes of the literates, they were mere civil formalities. At first the Jesuits did not make this distinction; but, on a closer examination, they recognized the difference. On account of the almost unconquerable attachment of the people to these rites, they allowed them in the case of the literates, to whom they were purely civil forms, but forbade them absolutely to those who, like the bonzes, used them as religious ceremonies. They trusted that in time, when the people had become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity, even these concessions might be safely withdrawn. In the mean time they justified their conduct by the example of the Apostles and early Fathers. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus established banquets on the feasts of martyrs, in imitation of those given by the

pagans on the feasts of their gods; and the Apostles themselves tolerated for a time certain Jewish practices, which were afterwards abolished.

When the Dominicans landed in China in 1633, the patience and prudence of the Jesuits had already worked wonders, and the true faith was spreading fast throughout the empire. On their arrival the new-comers were scandalized at seeing the Christians, converted by the Jesuits, observe certain rites, the exact signification of which they had not yet had the opportunity of ascertaining. Exaggerated reports of the concessions permitted by the fathers also reached their ears, and were accepted by them without sufficient examination. Thus the Jesuit missionaries were accused of concealing from their neophytes the mystery of the Cross, of allowing them to prostrate themselves before a certain idol, and to make use of pagan ceremonies. These misrepresentations speedily produced deplorable results. If the Jesuits had, by motives of charity, adopted a method open to danger and liable to abuse, the Dominicans, by a zeal for truth equally sincere, attacked them with a haste and vehemence no less dangerous.

A mission had been founded in 1625, in the province of To-Kien, by a Jesuit, Father Aleni, the author of a catechism, of which it has been said that the number of infidels it converted was greater than that of the letters it contained.* Of all the provinces in the empire none was so deeply plunged in the darkness of idolatry, or presented greater difficulties to the preachers of the Gospel. The language itself was an almost invincible obstacle; for every town in the province possessed a different dialect. However, after infinite trouble, Father Aleni succeeded in baptizing a number of infidels; every year from eight to nine hundred natives made their abjuration; and in course of time seventeen Christian churches were erected. The Dominicans penetrated into To-Kien soon after their arrival in China, and began preaching through interpreters. To the intense horror of the people, they announced that Confucius and all the ancient kings of China were in hell, and,

* *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes*, vol. xvii. p. 115 (edit. 1781).

worse than this, that the Jesuits were quite wrong in allowing them to salute the picture of Confucius, though it was only in the same manner as they saluted living persons of distinction. Great confusion and scandal ensued; not only the Dominicans, but the Jesuits themselves, were sentenced to banishment, and an edict was published against all the Christians. Father Bartoli relates that Father Manuel Diaz, a Jesuit, gave the Dominicans shelter in this moment of peril, nursed one of them through a dangerous illness, and provided them with a faithful Christian servant to protect them against the violence of the soldiers. Father Diaz himself and Father Aleni were soon obliged to follow them into exile. Before leaving the mission they had founded at the cost of so many efforts they recited the Litanies in their church; but the sound of prayer was well-nigh drowned by the sobs and tears of the Christian population mourning their departure.

The Archbishop of Manilla and the other prelates, with whom the Dominicans had lodged their accusations against the Jesuits, had transmitted them without delay to Rome; but a few years later, in 1637, after more minute investigations, they wrote again to Urban VIII., to state that, being now better informed, they desired fully to acquit the Jesuits of blame, and to commend their zeal and devotion.* The affair, however, was not to rest there. The more serious of the charges brought forward, such as that of concealing the mystery of the Cross, were, it is true, speedily disproved. A superficial examination sufficed to show that not the slightest foundation for them existed, and that the converts of the Jesuits were perfectly acquainted with the history of the Crucifixion; but the more subtle and difficult question of the rites was not so readily disposed of, and continued to occupy the attention of Rome for half a century.

In the mean time, the religious who, inspired by motives equally sincere, had yet adopted such widely opposite views on the subject under debate, were brought together by common persecution and suffering. While Father Schall, at Pekin, was

* *Des Jésuites par un Jésuite*, par P. Cahours, S.J.

lying under sentence of death, Dominicans and Jesuits were thrown together into prison. One of the former, Father Navarette, having made his escape, Father Grimaldi, a Jesuit, fearing that the other prisoners might suffer in consequence, constituted himself a voluntary prisoner in his stead. Father Navarette had been a determined opponent of the Jesuits on the subject of the rites; but later on, when he became Archbishop of St. Domingo, he showed himself their warm friend, gave them a college, and always spoke of them in the highest terms. Another Dominican, Father Sapetri, wrote, in August 1668, a declaration, in which he solemnly gives his opinion that the conduct of the Jesuits regarding the rites and ceremonies was blameless, as it had been approved by the Inquisition. He states on oath that, to his certain knowledge, the Jesuits took particular care to explain the mystery of the Passion to their neophytes, that they established confraternities in its honour; and he expresses his conviction that, owing to the peculiar character and inveterate prejudices of the Chinese, the concessions made by the fathers were absolutely necessary to the propagation of the faith.*

In succeeding chapters it will be needful to follow this long and difficult question of the rites in some of its various modifications; but for the present we may turn to the other missions undertaken by the Society under Father Vitelleschi.

The mission of Father Alexander de Rhodes offers special interest. He was a Frenchman, born at Avignon in 1591, and was almost the first Jesuit to penetrate into Cochin China and Tong-King. By dint of extraordinary application he succeeded at the end of the year in mastering the language of the country, which, as he relates in an account of his journey, was extremely difficult, resembling rather the chirping of birds than the sound of the human tongue. His labours were rewarded by the rapidity with which the faith extended its conquests. The mission of Tong-King was founded about 1627, and in less than two years Father de Rhodes baptized 6000 pagans, among whom were several bonzes, who assumed the office of

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 183.

catechists. In 1639 the number of the Christians had increased to 82,000; in the course of 1645 and 1646, 24,000 were baptized; and at the end of half a century, 200,000 had been received into the Church.

As may be imagined, this rapid progress of the faith excited the anger of the idolaters; and about 1644 the King of Cochin China began a violent persecution against the Christians. Its first martyr was the venerable Andrew, Father de Rhodes' catechist, who was beheaded in the presence of his master. The father himself was condemned to death; but his learning and his kindness had impressed even his enemies, and the sentence was commuted to one of perpetual banishment. Though compelled to leave Cochin China, Father de Rhodes continued to labour on behalf of the mission; and on his return to Europe he used all his influence to send out apostles to continue his work. Pope Innocent X. wished to make him a cardinal; but, although the father declined this dignity, he gladly accepted the permission given to him to establish a congregation of priests entirely devoted to the foreign missions. He chose Paris as the centre of this work; and together with two other Jesuits, Fathers Annat and Bagot, founded the Congregation of the 'Missions Etrangères,' which has given to the Church countless apostles and martyrs.* So great was the enthusiasm he knew how to inspire that Monsieur Olier knelt at his feet and entreated him to admit him into his congregation; but Father de Rhodes, rightly judging that the mission of the founder of St. Sulpice lay in his own country, declined to grant his petition. The apostolic travels of this intrepid apostle extended over Persia, Media, Armenia, and lasted forty years. He died in 1660; and his last work was to found a mission at Ispahan, the capital of Persia. The mission of

* The part taken by Father de Rhodes in the foundation of this congregation has been greatly misrepresented; by some authors he has been refused the honour of being its founder, while others have accused him of acting without the sanction of the General. The inaccuracy of both these statements is proved by Father Bertrand, S.J., in his *Mémoires historiques sur les Missions des Ordres religieux*, 2me édit. (Brunet Libraire, 31 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, 1862).

Tong-King, which owed its existence to his zeal, continued to be maintained by French and Portuguese Jesuits, in the midst of incessant persecution. One of them, Father le Royer, alone baptized 310 adults and 425 children in the year 1693; and in 1737 there were in Tong-King 250,000 Christians.*

In the mean time, in India the faith was spreading amidst considerable difficulties; and the comparatively slow progress of Christianity among the upper classes aroused the attention of Father Robert de' Nobili, one of the greatest of Jesuit missionaries, whose career presents singular interest.

He was born in 1577, at Montepulciano, and was a relative of Popes Julius II. and Marcellus II., and nephew and namesake of the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine. At the age of twenty-eight he was sent on the mission, and appointed to evangelize the coast of Madura, in India. Here he found the missionaries greatly discouraged by the fruitlessness of their endeavours to convert the Brahmins or priests, and the members of the learned classes among the Hindoos. The cause of this difficulty was the almost invincible prejudices that divided the different classes or castes. The castes, as is well known, were three in number: 1. that of the Brahmins, who were priests or doctors; 2. the Rajahs, comprising the magistrates, judges, and generals; 3. the Choutres and Pariahs, of whom the former were devoted to agriculture, and the latter slaves and outcasts, plunged in deepest degradation, and regarded by the other classes with horror and contempt; their very touch was contamination, and the food prepared by them could not be taken by members of the higher castes. When the Portuguese came to India they took the Pariahs into their service; and this, in the eyes of the learned castes, reduced all Europeans to the level of the outcasts with whom they associated. The missionaries, in their turn, naturally devoted their first efforts to evangelize the despised castes, and thus the converts of St. Francis Xavier were chiefly Paravas and Pariahs. But by thus acting they rendered it almost impossible to deal with the Brahmins, who, although often convinced of the truth of Chris-

* Marshall's *Christian Missions. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xvii.

tianity, refused to embrace a doctrine preached by men who associated with those whom they regarded as utterly vile and degraded. These prejudices, that created an abyss between the two classes, were too deeply rooted to be destroyed except through a long course of years. The missionaries were fully aware of the uselessness of their efforts to reach the Brahmins, but for the present at least the evil appeared beyond remedy.

Such was the state of things when Father de' Nobili arrived in India, and immediately he felt deep compassion for the proud and stubborn race, whom their national and hereditary prejudices shut out from the blessings of the faith. The institution of castes was too contrary to Christian charity to be permanently recognized, but before it could be destroyed time and patience were needed; and as it was necessary to tolerate it for the present, the wisest course was to prevent it, as far as possible, from being an obstacle to the Catholic religion. This was the view taken by Father de' Nobili, and in order to gain the Brahmins to Christ he resolved to become a Brahmin himself, and to renounce all intercourse with Europeans and with members of the lower castes. By this means alone could he hope to gain an influence with those whose welfare he had at heart.

His project having been approved by the Archbishop of Craganore and by his own Provincial, Father de' Nobili announced himself to be a Roman *Rajah*, or noble, and a *Sanniassi*, or one who had renounced the pleasures of the world, two perfectly accurate statements. He separated entirely from the other Jesuits, who, by mingling with the Pariahs, had lost caste in the eyes of the higher classes; and having adopted the language, costume, and manners of a Brahmin, he retired to a hut built of turf, and surrounded himself with a mysterious prestige well calculated to excite curiosity and interest. One of the chief crimes of the Europeans, in the opinion of the Brahmins, was their use of meat and strong liquors, and Father de' Nobili conformed himself strictly to the mode of life observed by the native doctors; rice, herbs, and water were his only food once

in twenty-four hours; his solitude was only broken by visits from the Brahmins; prayer and study were his constant occupations. By degrees his patience was rewarded; attracted at first by his retired and mortified life, the Brahmins were fascinated by his learning, and especially by his perfect knowledge of their Vedas, or sacred books. Gradually he led them to a clear understanding of the Catholic faith, and conversions became numerous among a class in which the truth had hitherto encountered insuperable opposition. In 1609, Father de' Nobili writes thus: 'Every day our progress becomes more visible, and the conversion of the gentiles less difficult.' And again: 'My church can no longer contain the Christians; it has become necessary to enlarge it.' He sent two of his neophytes to the College of Cochin, and so thoroughly had he instructed them that they took no offence at manners and customs different from those of their caste. 'You need not fear,' he writes, 'that they will be scandalized either in the college or in the city by these differences; they are fully instructed in such matters; they know that, in spite of the extreme diversity of our customs, we all serve the same God and practise the same law, and that in this respect there is absolutely no difference amongst us.' On their part, the fathers at Cochin were delighted with the edifying conduct of the neophytes. In 1609, Father Emmanuel Leitan, who had been sent out to assist Father de' Nobili, wrote home an enthusiastic account of the latter's success. 'I wish,' he says, 'that I could adequately express the feelings excited in me by the sight of this infant Church, and by the piety of those angels whom Father Robert has gained to God at the price of so many labours and sacrifices. I have never seen Christians who, in so short a time, were so perfectly instructed in the things of God and of our holy religion.'

Father Anthony Vico, another Jesuit, in a letter to the Father General Aquaviva, after relating the happy results that had crowned Father de' Nobili's efforts, adds: 'However exalted was the opinion which I formerly entertained of Father Robert's capacity for the work of converting the heathens, it

was far below the reality, which I should be inclined to call the ideal perfection of a missionary if I did not actually witness it with my own eyes.' More than a hundred thousand idolaters, nearly all of whom belonged to the hitherto inaccessible caste of the Brahmins, were baptized in the space of a few years by Father de' Nobili and his colleagues.

It might be supposed that a work so heroic and so successful would win universal admiration, but, in common with all great and holy men, Robert de' Nobili had to encounter opposition and misunderstanding, and that, too, in a quarter from which it was least to be expected. The very novelty of his mode of life, and his compliance with the exterior customs of the Brahmins, excited the suspicions of some Europeans, who accused him of adopting, or at least of tolerating in his disciples, idolatrous and superstitious practices. By degrees these charges acquired some importance, and created feelings of anxiety among the Jesuits of Goa; and at length, in 1618, Father de' Nobili was summoned to that city, in order to clear himself from the charges brought against him. When he appeared in his Brahmin dress, with his head shaved and covered with a pointed silk cap, wearing a flowing muslin robe, with the yellow mark on his forehead, which was distinctive of the priestly caste, the Jesuits themselves were surprised and almost scandalized at his appearance, and Father Palmeiro, Visitor of India, received him with a harshness which, as he afterwards confessed, was one of his bitterest trials. It was a period of acute suffering for the intrepid missionary. With the full sanction of his religious Superiors, and at the cost of great personal hardships, he had embraced his extraordinary mission; and now, when his efforts were beginning to bear fruit, he found himself misjudged, suspected, and accused even by his own brethren. He stood the test admirably, and in the end this painful ordeal only increased his influence and confirmed his enterprise. The Archbishop of Craganore, who in the first instance had sanctioned his project, stood by him throughout, and was accustomed to say: 'Would to God that Father de' Nobili had more imitators of his virtue than impugners of his conduct!'

The Jesuits in their turn speedily became convinced that he had acted with perfect wisdom, and that the accusations against him were totally unjust. His first act on reaching Goa had been to write an explanatory memoir, which is a model of learning, modesty, zeal, and humility, and in the eyes of his brethren it completely established his innocence. Father Palmeiro, who had received him with severity, begged his pardon with bitter tears, and became his stanchest defender; but the clergy of Goa were more difficult to convince, and Father de' Nobili had to appear before a synod, composed of priests and canons, most of whom were prejudiced against him. He replied to their interrogations with admirable calmness and humility, and Father Almeida, a Dominican, the head of the Inquisition at Goa, declared himself completely satisfied as to his innocence; but the final decision was referred to Rome. Five years after Father de' Nobili's arrival at Goa the answer came, in the form of a Bull, from Pope Gregory XV., dated January 31st, 1683, and which authorized Father de' Nobili to pursue the course he had hitherto followed, and justified him in all that he had done. One of the chief accusations against him had been that he allowed his disciples to paint a mark on their foreheads, made of a certain paste called sandal, and to wear cords or girdles, composed of 800 yellow threads. The Bull decided that both these customs, being regarded merely as distinctive marks of nobility, might be allowed to the Christian Brahmins, on condition that the cords should be blessed by a priest and received from his hands. The Pope, after careful examination, was convinced that to abolish these practices, puerile in appearance, but in the eyes of the natives invested with extraordinary importance, would have been to render their conversion well-nigh impossible.*

* In 1707, Clement XI. repeated the decision given by Gregory XV. Clement XII., it is true, ordered the missionaries 'to abolish the distinction of castes; but this decision, founded upon an extreme view of the theory of caste, was found to be absolutely fatal to conversions, and Benedict XIV., by the Bull of 12th Sept. 1744, not only approved the conduct of the Jesuits, but authorized them to have two classes of missionaries, one for the nobles, and another for the Pariahs. The decision was

After this decision, which restored him to his beloved mission, Father de' Nobili returned to Madura to pursue his labours, followed by the reverent admiration of all those who had witnessed the humility and patience which he had displayed under trial. In his old age, when loss of sight obliged him to retire from active life, he devoted his time to composing a book in the different idioms of Hindostan. He died in 1656, at the age of seventy-nine, and, says an English Protestant writer, he saw at the time of his death, 'as the reward of forty-five years of missionary toil, a church in every town of importance in the south of India.'* To this day Father de' Nobili's tomb near Madura is an object of veneration to the natives.

It would be too long to relate the labours of the other missionaries of the Society, who during this time evangelized the different parts of the Indian peninsula. It will be sufficient to name Father Matthew Fernandez, who in 1628 was martyred in Ceylon; Father Anthony de Vasconcellos, formerly Inquisitor General of India, who was poisoned at Goa in 1633; and Father de Andrada, the first apostle of Thibet. The gigantic labours of this intrepid missionary read like a romance: he traversed the Himalayas amidst extraordinary perils, and founded several missions in Thibet; but being named Provincial for India, he returned to Goa, where he was poisoned by the Jews, who were irritated at his bold defence of the Catholic faith.

The generalate of Father Mutius Vitelleschi is particularly remarkable for the number of illustrious missionaries which the Society then produced. Besides Father Spinola in Japan, Father Schall in China, Father de' Nobili in India, we have the Jesuits in America, whose labours were no less valuable to the cause of religion.

The missions of Canada or New France had been intrusted

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received with joy in India, and the fathers vied with one another who should have the lower calling' (Marshall, *Christian Missions*).

* Irving's *Theory of Caste*, chap. v. p. 128. Marshall's *Christian Missions*.

to members of the Society by Henry IV. When the first missionaries arrived they found the country occupied by a number of wild tribes of Red Indians, the chief of which were the Algonquins, the Iroquois, and the Hurons. The utter lawlessness of these Indian tribes, their roving habits and degrading superstition, presented almost insuperable obstacles to the extension of Christianity, and few histories are more striking than that of the long and patient struggle undertaken by the Jesuit apostles of Canada.

There exist over forty volumes of relations of their labours in this vast region; these volumes were generally drawn up by the Superior of the mission, and one was published every year; the last bears the date 1672. They constitute the most valuable, and for certain periods the only, history of Canada. The Canadian Government caused them to be reprinted in 1848, and Protestant historians own that it is impossible to exaggerate their value and authority.*

One of the first Jesuit missionaries thus describes the mode of life of the Indians: 'They live on hunting and fishing, for they do not till the ground. In January they have seals, whose flesh is as good as veal, and out of which they extract an oil that serves as a condiment for all their food. From February to the middle of May they hunt beavers, otters, bears, and cariboos, whose meat is excellent. . . . From the month of May until the middle of September famine is out of the question; shellfish, crabs, oysters are abundant.'†

The utter absence of any sedentary pursuits and the wandering habits which had become to them as a second nature made the conversion of the Red Indians extremely difficult. Father Lejeune, one of the early missionaries, expressed his opinion that to make communities of Christians nearly as many missionaries would be required as there were families; and long years elapsed ere the fathers were allowed to see the result

* *Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada* (Montréal, 1877).

† See *The Month*, June and Sept. 1877 and August 1878: 'The Native Tribes of North America and the Catholic Missions,' by the Rev. A. J. Thébaud.

of their labours. They pursued their task, however, with unflinching courage, and by their sufferings no less than by their preaching served the cause of truth and civilization. Among those who shed their blood for Christ we must mention Father Joseph Bressani, an Italian. He landed in Canada in 1642, and was appointed to evangelize the Hurons, who were the most promising of the Indian tribes, and the only one possessing any notions of agricultural pursuits; but on his way he was seized upon by the Iroquois, the mortal enemies of the Hurons. In a letter written to the Father General he gives an account of the terrible tortures which he then endured, and he begins by apologizing for the stains that cover his paper, as he wrote upon the bare earth, with damp gunpowder to serve as ink, and the blood from his open wounds flowing on his letter. For many weeks he was dragged through the woods, exposed to hunger and cold, tortured and beaten daily; his hands were burnt eighteen times; all the fingers of his right hand, except one, were cut off; he was hung up by the feet, and at night tied upright to a tree, so that even then rest was impossible. After relating his sufferings the missionary adds: 'I felt the pain keenly, but I had such interior strength to bear it that I was myself surprised at the power of grace. . . . It is true that I had to endure some interior sufferings, but never at the same time as my tortures; these I dreaded more beforehand than when they were actually inflicted on me. Often indeed, seeing them endured by others, they appeared to me more horrible than when I had to bear them myself.'*

Father Bressani was released in August 1644, and eventually returned to France. Somewhat similar was the fate of Father de Jogues, who in 1643 was also taken prisoner by the Iroquois. It is extraordinary how he survived the sufferings inflicted upon him: immediately after his arrest his fingers were cut off; he was then made to share the wandering life of the tribe, exposed to every hardship and tortured day and night. However, he found means to preach the faith, and during his captivity he baptized more than sixty Indians. At

* *Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada.*

length he was delivered by the Dutch traders and sent to France, where the queen regent, Anne of Austria, received him as a living relic. But Father de Jogues yearned to return to Canada, where he hoped at length to gain that martyr's crown so often within his grasp; and having obtained leave to say Mass in spite of his mutilated hand, he set sail for America, where in 1646 his wish was realized, and he was put to death by the Iroquois.

Convinced that their wandering habits were the chief obstacle to the extension of the faith, the Jesuits endeavoured to persuade the Indians to form colonies or 'reductions,' and adopt agricultural pursuits. Long years elapsed before their efforts were successful, and in the mean time many missionaries died victims of charity. Thus, about 1646, an aged Jesuit, Father Daniel, who refused to abandon his neophytes, was shot to death with arrows by a hostile tribe. A few months later, one of the Christian colonies was attacked by the Iroquois, and two Jesuits, Father Lallemand and Father de Brébœuf, themselves organized the defence and encouraged their flock to resistance. But at length the Christians were overwhelmed by superior force, many of them perished, and the two fathers were taken prisoners. The elder, Father de Brébœuf, was a man of athletic build and strength. In the midst of torments he continued to exhort the Christians who were near him; and the Iroquois finding it impossible to silence him thrust a red-hot iron down his throat. Father Gabriel Lallemand was younger and weaker, though equally courageous; he was enveloped by the savages in the bark of a fir-tree, to which they set fire; but before entering upon his long agony he knelt down to ask his Superior's blessing, and Father de Brébœuf smiled brightly amidst his tortures as he raised his hand to bless his young companion. After suffering for eighteen hours Father Lallemand was at last beheaded. In December of the same year, 1649, another French Jesuit, Father Charles Garnier, was present when the Christian colony of St. John was attacked by the formidable Iroquois. Although opportunities of flight were offered to him he chose to remain with

his flock, and while giving absolution to the dying he was struck by two balls. Nevertheless, he rose and dragged himself on his knees to a wounded Indian, over whom he had begun to pronounce the sacred words of pardon, when a stroke from a sword laid him bathed in blood by the side of his penitent.

While French Jesuits were evangelizing Canada, some English members of the Society were helping to found a flourishing colony in Maryland.

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore of Baltimore, county Longford, Ireland, had filled various posts of importance under King James I., and had obtained from his son Charles I. the grant of a territory, which now forms the province of Maryland. He died, however, before completing his business. A few years previously he had become a Catholic, and his son Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, also a Catholic, married the daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour.

This second Lord Baltimore pursued his father's design of founding a colony in America; one of his chief objects being to open a refuge to the hunted and oppressed Catholics of England. He applied to Father Blount, Provincial of the English Jesuits, for some of his subjects to accompany the band of two hundred colonists, all Catholics, who were shortly to set sail for the New World, and Fathers Andrew White, John Altham, John Knowles, Timothy Hay, with the lay-brother Thomas Gervase, were selected for the purpose. Father White, the most remarkable among them, was born in London in 1579, and had already filled several important offices in houses of the Society in England and Spain.

He was, according to Father Southwell, no less eminent for his learning than for his holiness, and singularly mortified and patient. In a letter written to Father Vitelleschi, Father White gives a detailed account of the voyage.

The little band of colonists set sail from Cowes on the 22d of November 1633, under the guidance of Leonard Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore; they touched at Barbadoes and at the island of St. Christopher, where the strange fruits and flowers of the New World excited their curiosity and admira-

tion, and at the beginning of March entered the Potomac, of which Father White writes: 'Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river.'* They landed on Heron's Island, where Mass was said on the feast of the Annunciation, and a large cross erected, at the foot of which the emigrants recited the Litanies.

It was not without much difficulty that the Catholic colonists of Maryland established themselves in their new home, and they suffered many vexations from the settlers of the neighbouring state of Virginia, who, being Puritans or Calvinists, regarded them with special animosity. From the native Indians, on the contrary, whom Father White describes as a frank, honest, and kindly race, they met with a friendly reception; and in July 1640 the King of Piscatoway, a powerful Indian prince, was baptized with great ceremony together with his wife, children, and principal courtiers.

The *Annual Letters* give minute descriptions of the manner in which the missionaries made their apostolic excursions among the Indians. They generally started in a little boat, carrying with them the necessary articles for saying Mass, and a number of trifles of European manufacture likely to attract and please the Indians. They also took a little tent, under which they used to camp at night; 'nor,' adds the writer, 'do we enjoy this humble fare and hard couch with less content than if we had the more luxurious provisions of Europe.'

Another missionary, Father John Broche, in May 1641, writes thus to the Father General: 'I would rather die of hunger on the bare ground, deprived of every human help, while working at the conversion of the Indians, than once admit the thought of abandoning this holy work;' and a few days afterwards he expired from exhaustion and fatigue.

When the Civil War broke out in England the persecution carried on against the Catholics found an echo across the Atlantic, and the emissaries of Cromwell received orders to 'exterminate Papistry' in Maryland. Father White was sent

* *Records of the English Province*, by H. Foley: Series V. VI. VII. VIII. p. 350.

to England in chains, and tried in London for the crime of his priesthood. He escaped death, however, and was banished to Belgium, where he solicited his Superior's permission to return to his beloved mission in Maryland; but, on account of his failing health, his request was refused, and he died in England in 1656. Some years later, in 1648, Father Philip Fisher, one of Father White's companions, who had been driven from Maryland by the persecution, returned to the mission; and in a letter to the General he describes the joy with which he was welcomed by the Europeans and the Indians, and how the good seed, sown in previous years, continued to bear abundant fruit.

While these events were passing in North America, other Jesuits were evangelizing Brazil, Armenia, Asia Minor, Smyrna, Martinique; and everywhere with the results of their labours we find traces of their blood, shed for Christ. In 1632, Father Emmanuel Martius was massacred, at the age of thirty-two, by the savage tribes of Mexico; in 1640, Father Louis Cardeyra was hung by the schismatics of Ethiopia, among whom he had laboured for twenty-three years. About the same time died in Brazil the Venerable John Francis Lobato, who had spent sixty years in evangelizing the inhabitants of that vast region. Extraordinary miracles attended his steps: at his voice the tigers lost their ferocity, and the rivers became as dry ground, on which he walked in safety. So great indeed was his reputation of sanctity, that a rich Brazilian committed the unheard-of indiscretion of building a chapel and an altar to him during his lifetime. It would be too long to enter into further details respecting the labours of the Jesuit missionaries throughout the world at this period; but, before concluding, we must linger a while over the heroic life of one whose existence was a continual act of self-sacrifice in its most painful and repugnant form.

Blessed Peter Claver, who in later years used to sign himself 'Peter, the slave of the negroes,' was the son of a noble Catalonian family. At the age of twenty he entered the Society of Jesus, and at the end of his novitiate he was sent on a pil-

grimage to our Lady of Montserrat, where, nearly a century before, Ignatius of Loyola had hung up his sword and renounced the world. In after years, Claver could never speak without emotion of his visit to the sanctuary hallowed by the prayers and vigils of his spiritual father. At the College of Gerona, where he was afterwards sent, there lived a humble lay-brother, who filled the obscure office of porter, but who has since been raised to the Church's altars, and is now invoked as the Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez. From the first he felt drawn by a mysterious attraction towards the young religious, whose sublime vocation was supernaturally revealed to him, and a close friendship united the two. In 1610, Claver was sent to Cartagena, in South America. On arriving, he was painfully struck by the miserable condition of the negro slaves, thousands of whom were every year brought to that port to be sold. He had now found his mission, and henceforth his heart and soul were given up to these wretched outcasts, who, to the rest of the world, were objects of horror and aversion. Whenever a slave-ship arrived in the port he was to be found eagerly awaiting it, attended by interpreters, who carried the refreshments that he had begged from the wealthy inhabitants of the town on behalf of his poor negroes. He then descended into the crowded cabins, where the slaves were huddled together, and after tenderly embracing them and distributing his gifts he told them that he loved them, and that he would, as far as lay in his power, assist and comfort them. Then, while the poor outcasts gazed in wonder at their new-found friend, he spoke to them of God and of the Catholic doctrine, and endeavoured to enlighten their minds by revealing to them the true faith. At other times Father Claver would visit the plantations, where the slaves were employed, in the neighbourhood of Cartagena. His first care was for the sick, to whom he brought refreshing fruit and wine, accompanying these presents with a few simple words of exhortation. Then assembling the others, he explained to them the principal truths of Christianity by means of pictures, and baptized those who were willing when they were sufficiently instructed. Unused to

kindness, the poor negroes knew not how to respond to this loving charity. They would gather around their benefactor, kiss the hem of his cassock, and, by their shouts of joy, express the happiness caused by his presence. By dint of unwearied perseverance he at length established habits of morality and piety among the negro population. On Sundays and feast-days it was touching to see the fervour with which his Mass was attended by those who, from being the most degraded of mankind, had become good Christians under his fatherly care. No trial could daunt his heroic courage. Once, in 1628, a ship, laden with negro slaves, arrived at Cartagena; a most virulent form of smallpox was raging in the crowded cabins, and the captain inquired whether any priest could be found to venture into this hotbed of infection. Father Claver eagerly came forward, and spent many hours among the sick and dying, a large number of whom he baptized. His favourite resort in Cartagena was the lepers' hospital, where the doctors themselves would hardly enter. He had a special love for these poor outcasts, to whom he brought all the provisions he could collect. Now and then he would hire musicians to play for them outside the hospital. Some of those who saw him in the midst of the lepers afterwards deposed that his head appeared surrounded by a dazzling light, and his countenance beaming with supernatural radiance. In addition to the fatigues entailed by his constant labours, Father Claver practised many voluntary penances: he always slept on a mat, with a piece of wood for his pillow, and three times every night he rose to take a severe discipline. Under his cassock he wore a hair-shirt, and two wooden crosses with iron spikes, one of which was tied to his back, the other to his breast. At the age of sixty-nine, worn out by his labours and austerities, he fell ill of the plague; and though he recovered from this malady, he retained a constant trembling in all his limbs, that prevented him from walking and from saying Mass. As long as it was possible he was carried to the plantations and to the hospitals, where the poor negroes clung to him with renewed affection; but by degrees his infirmities obliged him to remain in his own

room; and, strange to say, in order that no suffering might be wanting to his heavenly crown, the apostle of the blacks had much to endure from one of that unhappy race to whom he had consecrated his life. The Jesuits of the residence of Cartagena were few in number and overwhelmed with work, and they appointed to wait upon the dying father a young negro, who, without the knowledge of the community, treated his charge with extreme harshness and neglect, of which the saint never spoke a complaint. Towards the end of his life a great consolation came to brighten Claver's deathbed. One of the fathers brought him a Life of Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez, whose process of canonization had been commenced. The dying father's eyes brightened at the sight; his throughts reverted to the early days of his religious life, and to his intimacy with the holy lay-brother of the College of Gerona; he lovingly kissed the portrait at the beginning of the book, and could hardly bear it out of his sight.

Soon afterwards, on the 8th of September 1654, Blessed Peter Claver breathed his last. His funeral was performed at the expense of the town in acknowledgment of his great services; and the negroes, in their turn, had a service celebrated for him, to which they invited the governor and the principal officials. Many miracles took place at his tomb; he was declared Venerable by Benedict XIV. in 1747, and beatified by Pius IX. in July 1850.

CHAPTER XX.

Missions of the Society under Father Vitelleschi.

THE PROVINCE OF JAPAN.

UNDER the government of Father Vitelleschi, the missions of Japan entered on a period of intense suffering, to be followed by an apparent overthrow of the Christian religion.*

It has been seen how Taicosama and Daifusama, each in his turn, waged war against the followers of Christ; but far more cruel was the persecution begun by Xogun, son of the latter, whose accession to the imperial throne almost coincided with the election of Father Vitelleschi as General of the Society.

For a few months, it is true, the new sovereign was too much absorbed by affairs of state to turn his attention to his Christian subjects, and during this brief moment of tranquillity thirty-three Jesuits entered Japan. But although they endeavoured to exercise their ministry without attracting attention, it was impossible that their arrival should pass unnoticed, and Xogun, relieved from the first pressure of the cares of government, issued new and more stringent decrees against the Christian missionaries.

On the 22d of May 1617, Father John Machado, a Jesuit, and a Franciscan lay-brother fell into the hands of the government, and were condemned to be beheaded. Father Machado, who, from his infancy, had longed for the martyr's palm, exclaimed on hearing the sentence, 'The three happiest days in my life are the day of my entrance into the College of Coimbra, that of my arrest, and this one, on which I hear my sentence of death.' And in a letter to Father Vieyra, his Superior, written a few hours before the end, he expresses the same deep feeling of joy: 'I have just been told that I am to sacrifice

* *Histoire du Christianisme au Japon*, par Léon Pagès. Charlevoix, S.J.

my life for our good Jesus. I sacrifice it with joy, and if I had a thousand lives I would, with His divine grace, sacrifice them all.' He concludes by protesting that, in spite of his unworthiness, he trusts to the goodness of God and to the merits of his 'ever-beloved mother the Society of Jesus.'

Shortly afterwards several missionaries of other religious orders were likewise put to death, but these examples were unable to daunt the courage of those who remained, and who, with extraordinary ingenuity and daring, continued to exercise their perilous ministry. Among the Jesuits we find Father Navarro in the kingdom of Bungo, spending his days in the depths of a cavern, and only leaving it for the purpose of instructing his neophytes; Father Diego Yuqui penetrating into the lonely desert, where five native Christian princes were in exile; Father de Angelis and Father Carvalho, disguised as merchants, travelling over the mountains of Voxuan, in order to strengthen the scattered Christians.

In many cases the fatigues and privations of such an existence proved as fatal to the missionaries as fire or sword. In 1620, Father Emmanuel Baretto, in 1626, Father Gaspar de Castro, and, in succeeding years, many others died among the woods and mountains from sheer hunger and fatigue.

On their part, the Japanese Christians were worthy of their teachers, and persecution, far from checking the growth of religion, seemed to give it new life and vigour. A Protestant historian, Engelbert Kaempfer, has noticed this heroic enthusiasm in the Christians of Japan. He states that although, as recorded in the letters of the fathers, in the course of 1590, 20,570 persons had suffered for the faith, yet during the following years, when all the churches were closed and persecution was raging, the Jesuits made 12,000 converts.* Whole families went to execution with a cheerfulness that amazed their judges: thus, on the 7th of October 1619, fifty-two martyrs were burnt near Méaco, and among them were several women and children. One woman in particular, named Tècla, was surrounded

* *Histoire du Japon*, par Kaempfer, t. ii. p. 166. Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 149.

by her family; she held her youngest child in her arms, and two of her little sons were bound on each side of her to the same cross, while her elder children were on crosses close by. This heroic woman had spent the last few days before her arrest in preparing the garments of her family for the day of martyrdom: she herself had put on a magnificent mantle as a mark of joy; and, in the midst of the flames, she continued to exhort her children, all of whom persevered unto the end.

To their eternal disgrace, the English and Dutch traders, partly from jealousy of Spain and Portugal, partly from hatred of the Catholic religion, powerfully contributed by their calumnies to irritate the emperor against the missionaries, whom they depicted as dangerous conspirators against his safety and authority.

During this sharp conflict between truth and error new Jesuits continued to pour into Japan, five fathers having died in the course of 1619. In the following year six came to replace them; and in 1621, in spite of the edict that condemned to death any pilot or captain convicted of having brought missionaries into the empire, five more religious of the Society, ingeniously disguised, effected a landing and escaped discovery.

Foremost among those who, during this cruel agony of the Japanese missions, laboured to win souls to the Church stands Blessed Charles Spinola, whose biography offers special interest, and must therefore arrest our attention.* All the honours that are gained by riches, nobility, valour, and intellect were heaped upon the cradle of the future martyr. He was the son of Octavius Spinola, the favourite of the Emperor Rudolph II., and among his relatives he numbered a cardinal, an illustrious admiral, and the famous warrior of whom Maurice of Nassau said, when asked who was the first general of the day: 'Ambrose Spinola is the second.' The news of the martyrdom of Father Rodolph Aquaviva determined Charles Spinola to offer himself to the Society of Jesus; and in December 1584, at the age of twenty, he was received into the novitiate at Nola.

* *Vie du B. Ch. Spinola*, par le Père Séguin de la Compagnie de Jésus (Casterman, Tournai, 1868).

During the first years of his religious life he was brought into contact with some of the great saints and scholars, who are the glory of the Society under Father Claudius Aquaviva. St. Aloysius Gonzaga was his companion at Naples, and Father Clavius, the 'Christian Euclid,' taught him mathematics in Rome. By his holiness and talents Charles Spinola was worthy of both; but his vocation lay in very different spheres, and, yielding to his longing to serve God on the missions, his Superiors decided that he should set out for Japan.

The account of his travels illustrates the almost incredible difficulties encountered by the missionaries three centuries ago —difficulties which can hardly be realized by those who live in the midst of modern inventions; and one of the incidents of this long journey offers peculiar interest to English readers. Father Spinola started from Genoa in December 1595, landed at Barcelona, made his way to Lisbon, and, on the 10th of April following, embarked on a vessel bound for the Indies. But when the ship was about to double the Cape of Good Hope the rudder broke, and the soldiers on board forced the captain to change his course, and to steer for Brazil. On the 15th of July they accordingly landed in the port of Bahia; but Father Spinola, who had devoted himself to the task of nursing some sailors who were ill, was in his turn seized with a violent attack of fever, and for some days his life was in peril. Five months later, however, in December 1596, the missionaries embarked once more: they encountered furious tempests, and again and again their vessel seemed doomed to destruction. In these moments of danger Father Spinola used to invoke the martyrs of the Society, whose blood had dyed the wild waters of the Atlantic, over which he was sailing, and he attributed it to their intercession that the ship at length reached Porto Rico on the feast of the Annunciation, 1597. During their stay on the island the missionaries employed their time in preaching to the people, among whom they obtained much fruit. On the 21st of August they resumed their journey; but the vessel on which Father Spinola and his companion Father de Angelis had embarked was attacked by an English ship, the Portu-

guese, being the weaker party, were forced to surrender, and the two Jesuits, taken prisoners with the rest, were led before the English admiral, whose name we are not told. Father Spinola was aware of the cruel persecution that raged in England against Catholic priests. Sixteen years had passed since the protomartyr of the English Jesuits, the Blessed Father Campion, had died at Tyburn for the faith; since then Father Walpole, Father Southwell, and others had followed in the same bloody path; and in the English prisons lay at that very moment, in weary captivity, Thomas Pounde, William Weston, Ralph Emerson, and other confessors belonging to the Institute. Father Spinola thought that the moment had come when he too should gain the martyr's crown, for which his soul had yearned since his early youth; and on being questioned by his captors, he replied openly that he was a priest of the Society of Jesus. But Japan, and not England, was to be his Calvary; and, strange to say, in spite of his bold declaration, he was treated by the English admiral with perfect respect and consideration. The biographer of the father supposes that the courteous officer may have been a Catholic in secret. At any rate, he took the two Jesuits back to Dartmouth, and, having procured for them a lodging, gave them leave to say Mass, on condition they should do so with the utmost privacy. They were forbidden to go far outside the town, lest they should fall into the hands of the pursuivants; and, with the same care for their safety, their protector refused to let them say Mass anywhere except in their own lodging, in spite of the desire of the Catholics in the neighbourhood, who were greatly rejoiced to have in their midst two Catholic priests. At length a favourable opportunity having offered for their return to Portugal, the two fathers, whom their benefactor had provided with an effectual disguise, embarked once more, and reached Lisbon on the 8th of January 1598, nearly two years after their first departure from that port. The extraordinary perils through which he had passed had in no way discouraged Father Spinola in his ardent wish for a missionary life, and though his relations, on hearing of his return to Europe, implored the Father

General to detain him, his own entreaties prevailed, and, after spending nearly a year in Portugal, he set sail a second time for the Indies. 'We are ready to begin our journey once more,' he wrote to Father Aquaviva. 'The fatigues through which I have passed have hardened me, and prepared me to suffer all things from the fury of men and from the violence of the tempests.' With Father Spinola embarked several other Jesuits, among whom was Father Jerome de Angelis, the sharer of his captivity in England. This second voyage was more successful. In July 1600 the missionaries landed at Malacca, whence Father Spinola sailed for Macao, where he spent several months; and at last, in 1602, he landed at Nagazaki, in Japan. His joy was unbounded on reaching the country which had been for so long the object of all his desires. In a comparatively short time he mastered the difficulties of the language, and became one of the most successful preachers of the faith. For seven years he was minister of the college established by the Jesuits at Miako, the capital of Japan; he then became Procurator of the Province, and resided at Nagazaki. In these different posts he was distinguished for his charity, humility, and ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, and to the fatigues of his missionary life he added rigorous penances; but although severe to himself, he was ever gentle and compassionate to others. In the cruel persecution which broke out under the reign of Xogun, son of Daifusama, Father Spinola was chosen to share with Father Carvalho, the Provincial, the duties of Vicar-General of Japan, which had devolved on the Jesuits, and in a letter written to his brethren in Italy he gives a graphic picture of his daily life. He describes how, obliged to remain concealed during the day, he used to go at night from one house to another to celebrate Mass and administer the Sacraments. The important functions with which he was invested exposed him to peculiar danger, as he was continually visited and consulted by the other Jesuits and the native Christians. At length, in December 1618, he was arrested in the house of a Portuguese named Dominic Georges, with whom he had found a refuge. Then commenced for the heroic con-

fessor four years of a captivity full of horror. In order to force the Christian prisoners to renounce the faith the Governor of Nagazaki invented a cage, formed of wooden bars placed at short intervals from each other. It had a narrow door, through which a man could squeeze with some difficulty, and a small window, by means of which food was conveyed to the captives. The cage itself was seven feet in width and about seventeen feet in length; the floor was made of rough wooden planks. This new prison was placed on the summit of a hill at Suzutat, and exposed alternately to the scorching rays of the sun, torrents of rain, and chill blasts; it was enclosed at some distance by a strong palisade, guarded by soldiers. Into this horrible cage twenty-eight, and sometimes as many as thirty-three, prisoners were huddled together during four years. They were so crowded that it was impossible for them to lie down; so scantily clothed and fed that they nearly perished from hunger and cold. They were never allowed to leave their prison, and its filth may be more easily imagined than described. Father Spinola confessed that for the space of three years he had worn the same cassock and linen. Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and native Christians alike were among the prisoners. One supreme consolation was allowed them—although often deprived of the necessaries of life, Divine Providence mercifully permitted that they should never be without the means of having Mass; and in an almost miraculous manner the priests were frequently able to offer up the Holy Sacrifice.

Father Spinola's courage and cheerfulness never failed during this long agony; and in the letters he contrived to send his brethren he relates how, since he is able to celebrate Mass, the prison has become to him a paradise. The captives had drawn out a rule of life, each one of the priests assumed in turn for a week the office of Superior, and the day was divided between prayer, meditation, and spiritual conferences. But, as may be imagined, not all were able to stand the sufferings of their imprisonment: a Franciscan was the first to die, in 1619; and the following year a Jesuit lay-brother, Ambrose Fernandez, who had been taken prisoner at the same time as Father Spinola,

breathed his last. His fellow-prisoners immediately began a hymn of thanksgiving, and doubtless many of them gazed with envy upon the dead body of him who had mercifully been taken to his rest. New captives were sent to replace those whom death had set free, and among them were four young Japanese Christians, who desired earnestly to enter the Society of Jesus. Father de Couros, the Provincial, hearing this, authorized Father Spinola to receive them into the Order, and likewise two other Japanese who had acted as catechists to the fathers: thus the horrible cage of Suzutat became a novitiate, where they were trained to the religious life.

At length the hour of deliverance came; the escape of a Dominican, Father Luiz Flores, whom his neophytes had rescued from the hands of the soldiers, was the pretext seized upon by Xogun for the execution of a large number of Christians. Twenty-four of the captives of Suzutat were among the chosen victims: two priests of the Society of Jesus, Father Spinola and Father Sebastian Kimura, with seven novices and two catechists, five priests and three brothers of the Order of St. Dominic, three religious of St. Francis, and two members of the Third Order. Two religious and six Japanese laymen remained in captivity, and great was their sorrow and envy when their happier companions were removed from the prison where they had endured such exquisite sufferings. Among the future martyrs Father Spinola was conspicuous for his cheerfulness; after hearing his condemnation he wrote to Father Baeza: 'I know not to what I can attribute my happy fate, except to the immense goodness of my Saviour, who wishes to manifest the riches of His mercy upon His unworthy servant. . . . I beg your reverence's pardon for my faults, and I entreat you to thank God with me, and to obtain for me by your prayers a constancy worthy of a true son of the Society.' And in another letter, written to his Provincial, he says: 'I think that we shall soon be burnt to death: what a heavenly favour! In any case we are ready, and we are waiting for that blessed hour.' He signs himself 'Charles, condemned to die for the Name of Jesus.'

On the 9th of September 1622 the little band of confessors set out for Nagaẓaki, where the execution was to take place on the hill sanctified twenty-five years before by the death of Blessed Paul Miki and his companions, and popularly called since then the Martyrs' Mount. It formed a kind of peninsula jutting out into the sea, and the road leading to it was thronged with people, among whom were many Christians, who came forward to ask a blessing from the martyrs. Here the prisoners from Suzutat were joined by thirty-one Christians from Nagazaki, chiefly Japanese, who were condemned to be beheaded for having sheltered the missionaries, and among these were many women and little children. The two detachments of martyrs met with demonstrations of most loving charity and joy, and proceeded together towards the spot appointed for the execution. Father Spinola walked first, with Father Kimura and his seven novices. The sufferings of his imprisonment had changed his appearance; his face was pale and emaciated, and his hair and beard had grown to an unusual length, but the angelic serenity and happiness that were imprinted on his brow gave him an expression of almost superhuman beauty. After him came the other religious, and then the prisoners from Nagazaki, many of the women carrying their children, and all singing the psalm, 'Laudate pueri Dominum.' Twenty-five stakes had been placed in a straight line facing the sea; they were surrounded by heaps of wood and inflammable matter, and enclosed by a strong palisade. The prisoners condemned to be burnt were tied to the stakes, while those who were sentenced to be beheaded knelt down in front. Father Spinola, on reaching the stake allotted to him, knelt to thank God again for the grace of martyrdom; he was then, like his companions, bound to the wood, but very lightly, in order that those who wished to apostatize might have no difficulty in escaping. He addressed a short speech to all present, explaining the motives that led him and his brethren to Japan, and giving a brief account of the faith they had come to preach. When he had finished speaking, the executioners proceeded to behead the first band of martyrs, who were kneeling at the feet of their

companions. It was thus that Father Spinola perceived among the victims Isabel Fernandez, widow of Dominic Georges, in whose house he had been arrested. Remembering that he had formerly baptized her child, who had been named after St. Ignatius, on whose feast he was born, the martyr anxiously inquired what had become of his little Ignatius. 'Here he is, father,' she replied, raising the child, who was kneeling by her side; 'I would not deprive him of the only happiness I was able to procure him.' Then turning to the boy, 'My child,' she said, 'this is the father who baptized you; ask for his blessing.' The boy obeyed. He was only four years old, but with a courage beyond his years he longed, like his mother, to die for Christ; and a cry of admiration burst forth from the spectators, when the venerable religious, who for nearly forty years had laboured for his Lord, raised his hand to bless the child-martyr kneeling at his feet. In order to suppress this rising emotion, orders were given that the execution should commence; the head of Isabel fell at the feet of her little son, who with clasped hands calmly waited for the blow from the executioner's axe, and a moment later he had joined his mother. Doubtless the baby-martyr's first prayer on entering heaven was for the spiritual father who had made him a Christian, and whom a more cruel and lingering agony now awaited. By a refinement of cruelty, the fire was kindled at some distance from the victims, so as to prolong their sufferings, and three long hours elapsed before the last martyr expired. Throughout this fiery ordeal, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans displayed heroic courage; the weakness of two Japanese was the one shadow that darkened that glorious day. Father Spinola remained with his eyes raised to heaven, and apparently insensible to pain, until at length he was seen to bend his head as he breathed his last sigh. His seven novices showed themselves worthy of their chief, and suffered with the same constancy; one of them, Thomas Acafoxi, a Japanese of royal birth, continued in the midst of the flames to speak with extraordinary fervour of God and of heaven. Father Kimura was the last to die; for three hours he lived on without giving

the slightest sign of suffering, till at length he was observed to kneel down in the midst of the flames, and bowing his head, he expired. Altogether fifty-two martyrs ascended to heaven that day, 10th of September 1622, and among the native Christians this execution was long known as the 'great martyrdom.' The mountain of Nagazaki continued to be regarded as hallowed ground, and the depositions of the witnesses for the process of canonization tell of supernatural sights observed on the holy hill; fishermen sailing along the coast on the night that followed the execution saw solemn processions of martyrs, bearing lights and singing hymns of thanksgiving; and the soldiers appointed to guard the enclosure were forbidden under pain of death to reveal the marvellous sights that struck their eyes.*

Only a few days later, another illustrious member of the Society, Father Constanzo, was burnt at Nagazaki, in presence of thirteen Dutch and English ships then in the port. He was of a singularly majestic appearance, and remained perfectly motionless in the midst of the fire, till he was heard to repeat the 'Sanctus' five times before breathing his last. On the 1st of November of the same year another Jesuit, Father Paul Navarro, was executed with three Japanese novices. He was so generally beloved that even the pagans murmured at his condemnation, which to him was a cause of intense joy. On the eve of his death, he wrote to Father de Couros: 'May God reward you for the great love you have always shown me, especially at this the last moment of my existence. . . . My beloved father, may you be happy! . . . I render infinite thanks to the Divine Goodness. I die full of security and joy, trusting to the merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, who died for me, and for whose presence I yearn with all my soul.—PAUL NAVARRO, who in a few hours will be burnt for Jesus Christ.'

On the 4th of December 1623 came the turn of Father

* Among the martyrs of the 10th of September 1622 were eight Dominicans, five of whom were Europeans; three Franciscans; two priests of the Society of Jesus, and seven novices of the same Order; thirty-two native Christians, among whom were thirteen women, and five children under twelve years of age. They were all beatified by Pius IX. in May 1867.

Jerome de Angelis, the faithful companion of Father Spinola's adventurous journey to the East, and one of the most successful and indefatigable of Jesuit apostles. The twenty-two years he spent in Japan were years of continual sufferings and hair-breadth escapes; at length he was arrested, and burnt to death at the same time as Father Galvez, a Franciscan, and seventy-five native Christians, among whom was a cousin of the emperor, named Faramondo, whose hands and feet had already been amputated for the faith. Two months later, in the depths of winter, Father Diego Carvalho was thrown into a frozen pond with some of his converts, and condemned to perish there of cold and exhaustion. During their long hours of agony the Jesuit never ceased to exhort his companions to constancy. The magistrates were especially anxious to obtain his apostasy, and repeatedly sent messengers to him with this object; but to all their entreaties he returned but one answer, 'I cannot and will not.' It is impossible to realize the sufferings endured during that cruel night: a sharp wind was blowing, and the snow fell in heavy flakes upon the sufferers in their icy prison. The first to die was a native Christian named Leo. His agony was intense, but Father Carvalho kept repeating to him with loving earnestness, 'A little longer and all will be over;' and Leo persevered heroically, and died invoking Jesus and Mary. Another Christian, who was next the father, said to him at last, 'Adieu, father; the end has come;' and upon the Jesuit's reply, 'Go, my son, in the peace of God,' his soul passed peacefully away. Thus one by oue the martyrs breathed their last, and at length their spiritual father was left alone; he had seen his disciples safe to their home, and his mission being now accomplished, his soul was in its turn carried to eternal rest. The same year, 1624, another Jesuit of the same name, Father Miguel Carvalho, was burnt to death near Omoura, with one Dominican and several Franciscan friars. During his captivity, two ambassadors arrived in Japan from Philip II. of Spain, and for a moment it was thought that in their honour all European prisoners would be released. This rumour deeply distressed Father Carvalho, who longed for the

martyr's palm, and he wrote thus to one of his brethren: 'I should feel the greatest sorrow if our Lord, on account of my sins, should withdraw me from the path of mercy and grace now open before me. . . . I am always a prey to the fear lest the Lord should desire to punish me and deprive me of the supreme blessing, of which His divine goodness no longer considers me deserving.' However, the emperor absolutely refused to see the Spanish envoys, and caused them to be expelled from Japan; and shortly afterwards Father Carvalho joyfully writes to announce his condemnation, concluding his letter thus: 'Nothing in this life appears to me more desirable, more delightful, and more consoling, than to give my life for so merciful a Saviour.'

At the beginning of 1626 there were only eighteen fathers of the Society left in Japan; the others had died under torture or exhausted by fatigue; and in the course of that year the Provincial, Father Pacheco, with two other Jesuits, Father Zola and Father de Torres, were burnt to death at Nagazaki. They were led to the place of execution through the crowded streets, which were thronged with persons eager to behold the Provincial, whose dignity as head of the Order in Japan no less than his extraordinary holiness made him an object of peculiar interest. On passing the spot, where once stood the church and novitiate of the Society, the venerable confessor knelt down and said a short prayer. To the last he continued to encourage his companions; and the Japanese, struck by the angelic fervour of the three fathers, used to say of this martyrdom that it resembled a solemn High Mass.

Father Pacheco was succeeded as Provincial by Father de Couros, who also was charged with the administration of the vacant bishopric. He was sought for with special perseverance by the emissaries of the government, and for many months remained hidden in a deep pit, which he describes thus: 'I have with me all the necessaries for celebrating Mass; above the pit is a cabin where my host keeps his tools, and in it is a little door covered with straw, so as not to excite suspicion. I go out of the pit at night, arrange an altar, and celebrate Mass; before

daybreak I return to my hiding-place with my vestments and other sacred things. Here I spend the day, with only a dim light that penetrates by a small aperture, enabling me to read and write. . . . I am alone in this part of the country to encourage and strengthen the Christians by my letters; they imagine me to be concealed in a neighbouring island. In the answers I receive from them they display great courage.' Father de Couros died in October 1633, exhausted by the sufferings he had endured. For many months he had escaped the search made for him; but at length, finding himself without a refuge, and his health utterly broken by fatigue and illness, he proposed to give himself up to his pursuers. This the Christians would not allow; they carried their dying father up to the mountains, where he expired, after receiving the last consolations of religion. Although his end was not a violent one, the long and weary course of hardships he embraced rather than abandon his flock entitles him to a prominent place among the most glorious confessors of Japan.

Far from being daunted by the invincible courage displayed by the missionaries and their neophytes, Xogun's fury seemed rather to increase. New modes of torture exceeding in horror those hitherto employed were daily invented. Sometimes the missionaries were beaten till their bones were laid bare, or else they were roasted on gridirons, or thrown into pits filled with venomous serpents. Sometimes their arms and legs were pierced with spears, or their limbs amputated one by one. In certain parts of Japan, on the mountain of Oungen, not far from Nagazaki, existed a species of craters, out of which arose putrid vapours, flames, or pestilential miasmas; over these volcanic cavities the missionaries were suspended by their feet; their heads, tightened between planks of wood, were placed at the opening of the crater, and under their right hand was a bell so arranged that the slightest motion sufficed to make it ring. They were told that its sound would be regarded as a sign of apostasy; and to physical sufferings was thus added the torture of intense mental strain, as they endeavoured to suppress even the least involuntary movement of pain. Many Christians, and

among them women and young girls, were likewise subjected to the fearful torments of Oungen; some, indeed, were vanquished by pain, but the greater portion endured their tortures with superhuman courage. One of the most remarkable of these was a youth of nineteen named Simeon, who, on being questioned by the judge concerning his studies, replied: 'As for science, I only know how to die.' He remained on the mountain for sixteen days, during which the pestilential waters that issued from the crater were repeatedly poured over him; at length his body became one vast ulcer, and his flesh so corrupt that it fell to pieces. Seeing him in this state, the magistrates had him carried to his father's house, in order to deprive him of the glory of dying on the scene of his martyrdom. He lingered for two days, during which he continually repeated: 'O my Saviour, Your wounds are so great, mine are nothing!' His father, a fervent Christian, considered it the height of happiness to have a martyr for his child. In 1631, Father Anthony Ixida, a Japanese Jesuit, was subjected to the torments of Oungen together with several other religious, among whom was Father Francis of Jesus, an Augustinian monk, and two Portuguese ladies, one of whom was a girl of eighteen. Father Francis of Jesus describes in graphic terms the aspect of the horrible mount, which at that season was covered with snow; and the effect of the burning waters, which, when poured on the naked flesh, laid the bones bare in a few minutes. During one month Father Ixida endured the torture six times a day, but never a word of complaint escaped his lips. He was taken back to prison covered with wounds, which were purposely left to corrupt and fester; and eight months later he was burnt to death at Nagazaki.

The heroism with which the sons of St. Ignatius laboured and suffered on the distant shores of Japan excited warm sympathy in the capital of the Christian world. A Brief sent to the Japanese Christians by Pope Urban VIII. contains the following passage relating to the Jesuits: 'We greatly rejoice at the consolation brought to you by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose zeal you should certainly repay by every service

and mark of gratitude in your power. You may judge how precious your souls are in the eyes of the Church by her sending to you priests of rare wisdom and virtue, who exchange their own country for a land of exile, and who, braving the fury of a tempestuous sea, reach your shores, where they know that the violence of persecution rages yet more terribly.'* A Protestant writer, Engelbert Kaempfer writes thus: 'In spite of the terrible variety of tortures invented by their implacable persecutors, their courage was not shaken; and it may be said, to the lasting shame of paganism, that the Christians of Japan joyfully sealed with their blood the truths of Christianity. . . . The fathers of the Society of Jesus,' he adds, 'won the hearts of the people by the doctrine of the Gospel, so full of consolation and suavity. . . . They gained influence with all by their exemplary modesty, their virtuous life, the disinterested assistance they gave to the poor and to the sick, and by the pomp and majesty of their divine service.'† Another Calvinist, Roger Gysbertz, who, from 1622 to 1629, was attached to the Dutch trading company at Nagazaki, relates with sincere admiration, in spite of his religious prejudices, the death of several martyrs, of which he was an eye-witness.‡

If devotion and heroism had sufficed to save the mission of Japan, the Church would not have had to mourn one of the brightest gems in her spiritual diadem nor the Society of Jesus its most glorious conquest. Many members of the great orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis had spent their lives and shed their blood on the soil of Japan; but on the Jesuits the mission seemed to have a peculiar claim, and to them it was especially dear. It was, in some sort, a legacy bequeathed to the Society by the greatest of its apostles, and for many years it had been intrusted to the sole care of its missionaries. Now, therefore, before relinquishing a post where so many of their brethren had died for Christ, the members of the Order made

* *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 156.

† *Histoire de l'Empire du Japon*, vol. iii. p. 346 (La Haye, 1732). Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 159.

‡ Thevenot, *Voyages curieux*, 2de partie. Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 159.

heroic efforts, which were crowned in heaven alone. In 1632, Father Sebastian Vieyra, a man of singular intrepidity and talent, succeeded in effecting a landing, disguised as a Chinese sailor. He had already laboured in Japan, but had been sent on an embassy to Rome, where Urban VIII. had said to him: 'Return to Japan; defend the faith at the peril of your life; and if you have the happiness to shed your blood for Christ, I promise to add your name to those of the martyred saints.' The Pope had judged rightly when he decided that the presence of one so able and energetic would be of inestimable benefit to the persecuted Christians. Immediately on landing, Vieyra assumed the vacant charges of Provincial and administrator of the bishopric; and for several months he succeeded in escaping the active search made for him. At length, however, he was arrested with five other Jesuits, and, according to custom, he was given his choice between apostasy and death. His hands were unbound, in order that he might sign the renunciation demanded by the emperor; he took up the pen and wrote thus: 'I am sixty-three years of age; since my birth I have been loaded with benefits by the God whom I adore. The gods of Japan can do nothing for me; the emperor has only done me injury; I should, therefore, be insane were I to renounce Christianity to offer incense to idols of stone, and to obey a man mortal like myself.' And after this protestation he joyfully suffered death in June 1634.

The Emperor Xogun was now dead, but his son and successor, To-Xogun, fully equalled him in his hatred for the Catholic religion; and the persecution continued with unabated fury. The year before Father Vieyra's martyrdom, 1633, was marked by the glorious deaths of twenty-four Jesuits. Among these last apostles and martyrs of Japan, we must mention Father Emmanuel Borghese and Father James Giannoni, who perished at Nagazaki, together with several Japanese novices; the venerable lay-brother, Nicolas Keyan Fucunanga, for whom was invented the fearful torture of the pit, of which mention is so often made in the latter accounts of the Japanese persecutions. The body of the patient was tightly bound with

ropes, in order to check the circulation of the blood, then suspended head foremost in a deep and narrow pit, and, moreover, tightened all round by means of planks and stones. It often happened that the martyrs lingered for five or six days in this terrible torture, where the pangs of hunger were added to other excruciating sufferings. In order to prolong their agony they were sometimes bled on the temples. In the course of 1633 and 1634, many religious of different orders, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others, and numberless native Christians, perished in the pits. But that same year, 1633, sanctified by such glorious deeds, was also memorable for the fall of a member of the Society, who alone, among so many, yielded to the fear of death. This unhappy apostate was Christopher Ferreyra, who for some years had filled the office of Provincial. After enduring the torture of the pit for five hours, he made a sign that he was willing to renounce his faith. It may be imagined with what consternation the fatal news was received by his brethren. From that day incessant prayers and penances ascended to heaven on his behalf; and the last martyrs, whose sacrifice we have to relate, were stimulated in great measure by the hope of gaining him back to Christ.

It seemed to the Jesuits as though it would be an eternal disgrace to the Order if the history of the Japanese mission, commenced by St. Francis Xavier, and carried on by thousands of saints and martyrs, were to close with an apostate and a renegade; but so intense was the fury of the persecutors, and so active the search made for the missionaries, that at the end of 1634, Ferreyra was the only European Jesuit left in the empire. Three years later, Father Marcellus Mastrilli, a Neapolitan father of angelic holiness, and distinguished by his devotion to St. Francis Xavier, landed in disguise on the coasts of Japan. His life had been a series of miracles. When a novice he foretold that he should be beheaded in Japan; and some years afterwards he was miraculously restored to health by St. Francis Xavier, from whom he received an order to proceed to the missions. He sailed from Lisbon in 1635, and, to

the honour of the Society, thirty-four fathers embarked with him. But though, after extraordinary perils, he succeeded in effecting a landing in Japan, he was arrested almost immediately, and led to Nagazaki. Here for several days he was subjected to frightful torture; and at last was suspended in a pit during four days, at the end of which he was beheaded. At the moment of his death the earth shook, and the sun suddenly darkened. It seems doubtful whether he was ever allowed to meet the unhappy Ferreyra, for whose sake he had in great measure come to Japan.

The native Christians, although they had suffered and died with heroic patience, at length, maddened by persecution, made a supreme effort to win by the force of arms the religious freedom denied to them, and, the emperor having ordered all his subjects to wear on their breasts a sign of idolatry, the Christians of Arima flew to arms. For three months they successfully defended the city of Ximbara; but, crushed by superior forces, they were at last cut to pieces, and 37,000 are said to have perished. After this last effort, we meet with no further attempts at resistance on the part of the Christians, but only with the silent courage that resigns itself to death. The Jesuits, however, refused to relinquish a land that had become to them like the patrimony of their Order; and in 1643, Father Anthony Rubino, who had been for some years employed on the Eastern missions, wrote to the General to announce his departure for Japan. 'Either I shall succeed in penetrating into the country freely,' he writes, 'and in that case I shall summon my brethren to my aid; or, at all events, I shall die at my post as Visitor of Japan, and the world shall see that the Society did its utmost to convey labourers into the empire.'

Rubino and four other Jesuits were landed on a solitary spot, where, however, they were instantly discovered and taken to Nagazaki. Here the unhappy Ferreyra was appointed to act as their interpreter; but it is said that, after the first interview, he fled from their presence, maddened by remorse and terror. The agony of the five missionaries lasted the unheard-of

period of seven months and two days, during which every alternate day they were burnt with lighted torches or subjected to other torments equally horrible. At length, seeing that nothing could shake their courage, the governor sentenced them to die in the pits, where they persevered to the end in a glorious confession of faith.

Undaunted by the fate of his predecessor, Father Peter Marquès, who was appointed Superior of the mission at the death of Father Rubino, sailed for Japan with three other fathers and one lay-brother. They were seized, and, on their refusal to renounce the faith, were condemned to death. Their execution was witnessed by a number of Dutch sailors, who were prisoners at the time, and who afterwards related that they had seen the martyrs' limbs slowly sawn off. Three of them died in the hands of the executioners, and the two others, when about to breathe their last, were carried back to prison mutilated and bleeding.

These repeated attempts proved at length that all hope must be resigned; but it is a touching proof of the tenacity with which the Society of Jesus clung to the mission, that until the suppression of the Order in 1773 there always existed a nominal Province of Japan, to which missionaries were attached, ready to proceed thither should it ever become possible. 'For the space of a hundred years the Society had performed prodigies to secure her conquest to the Church. Patience, virtue, zeal, ingenuity—everything had been employed;'* and for many years longer she refused to believe that this glorious conquest was irretrievably lost.

This mournful termination of a history so fruitful in deeds of heroism would have been doubly sad had its closing scene been one of apostasy; but the Society was spared this additional blow; and at the age of nearly eighty, Ferreyra the renegade was seized with repentance for his crime. Many years before, a holy lay-brother, Peter de Bastos, while serving the Mass offered up by Father Mastrilli for the unfortunate apostate, had a prophetic vision of his future conversion; and this was now

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 164.

fulfilled. For some time Ferreyra had been a prey to remorse. He was narrowly watched by the government; but in the rare communications he held from time to time with the Portuguese traders he seemed overwhelmed with sadness and despair. At length, in 1652, he went to the Governor of Nagazaki, and confessed himself a traitor to his Order and to his God. Sixty-eight hours of torture were unable to shake his constancy; and he died, purified by his repentance and his sufferings.

From that hour a veil falls over the remnants of the Christian Church in Japan. In addition to the laws already issued, the horrible invention called the 'Jesumi' was put into force. Every foreign ship that arrived in Japan was carefully searched by the envoys of government, and each person on board strictly questioned as to his age, profession, and, above all, his religion. Then a small copper-plate, bearing an engraved figure of our Lord crucified, was brought on deck, and every one was obliged to walk upon it barefooted. After this formality, and before the passengers were permitted to land, a long decree, full of invectives against the Christian religion, was read to them. Although a certain number were then allowed to land, in order to carry on their commercial transactions, all foreigners, even Chinese, were watched with extraordinary vigilance. They were prevented from going beyond the warehouses appointed for the transaction of business; and only a limited number of Japanese, provided with special permission, were authorized to communicate with them on business matters.

In consequence of the sacrilegious act demanded of them, the Portuguese merchants were compelled to abandon the counters and warehouses they had established at Nagazaki; and the commerce between Japan and Europe remained solely in the hands of the Dutch and the English, whose desire for gain induced them to submit to all that the government chose to impose. Another law condemned to death not only the person who should embrace Christianity, but all his relations in the first degree of blood relationship or affinity. Under the pressure of these severe measures the surviving Christians of

Japan were shut out from the Catholic world by insuperable barriers. It became impossible to ascertain whether any traces of the ancient faith still remained; and in 1704 we find Father de Fontaney, an eminent Jesuit missionary in China, writing to his brethren that, in spite of the inquiries he had made of the Chinese merchants, he had been unable to learn whether there were still any Christians in Japan.

It seemed, however, as though it were impossible that, in a land where such torrents of blood had flowed for Christ, the light of faith could be entirely extinguished. Within the last few years missionaries have once more penetrated into the empire where for two hundred years no Catholic priest had set his foot; and it has been discovered that the practice of baptism and the knowledge of the chief truths of religion survive among the descendants of the ancient martyrs. A modern traveller, Baron de Hübner,* relates that in the interior of the country are whole villages inhabited by Christians, and that in each village are persons whose special duty it is to baptize, and in whose family the office is hereditary.

May we not hope that the sufferings of the martyrs may win even an earthly reward, and that these remains of the ancient faith, preserved in so strange a manner through centuries of neglect and isolation, may spring into new life, and bear new fruits of grace and sanctity!

* *Promenade autour du Monde* (Paris, Hachette éditeur, 1874).

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NEAVE, BARBARA (B.N.)
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